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Doing Daddy In

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Richard Nixon's Return

MR. NIXON, we have observed, is generally quicker than most to detect political positions that are either shocking or immoral. He was shocked frequently during the 1960 campaign, as well as by the press coverage and election results. Similarly, he has uncovered so much immorality in the course of his many political speeches that some have been unkind enough to suggest that these discoveries owe less to the situation at hand than to a felt need to bolster a weak prose style and emphasize dubious points as best he can.

The latest discovery, revealed in the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*, concerns the proposed East-West non-aggression pact. As so often in the past, Mr. Nixon's prose is so arranged that anyone who disagrees with him, for any reason, becomes suspect of immorality, if not treason. "It would be shockingly immoral," he wrote, "for the United States to do anything directly or indirectly which would give the impression that we accept Khrushchev's price—namely, that in return for 'peaceful co-existence' we would draw a line down the middle of Europe and accept as permanent the Communist enslavement of 97 million Eastern Europeans." This is vintage Nixon, particularly since the subtle suggestion of disloyalty and plotting by the Administration becomes more explicit when the statement is amplified: "Only the mobilization of an aroused and informed American public opinion will prevent the sellout [of Eastern Europe]."

Only the cynical would see in this article an opening salvo by Mr. Nixon in a campaign to gain his party's Presidential nomination in 1964. (It has been reported that in the face of the Goldwater boom, a number of Republican professionals have been led to look upon Mr. Nixon in a kindlier fashion. At any rate, if this were Mr. Nixon's intention, and if he hoped to lure support away from Goldwater, he could do worse than to lapse into the idiom of the far right—"sellout," for instance, particularly when applied to Eastern Europe, has for the conservative wing a special connotation not shared by the historians.) Whatever Mr. Nixon's motives and whatever the merits of his peculiar prose style, his contribution is to promote the kind of simplistic thinking that inhibits attempts to come to grips with the actual situation in Eastern Europe. His rejection of the complexities involved in meeting Communism is nearly as complete as Goldwater's. Confronted by Pope John's *Pacem in Terris*, a document which dealt with these complexities of the cold war as they are, Mr. Nixon once again retired to simple formulas. Though addressed to "all men of good will," the encyclical was only meant for the West, according to Mr. Nixon, because the Communists cannot be considered men of good will.

MR. NIXON once delivered a homily to a fledgling politician on the need to keep the issues simple. Like Mr. Goldwater, he seems to have little trouble hewing to this rule. Too often in his prose foreign policy comes through as a matter of victory or defeat, firmness or "sellout," freedom or slavery, good or evil. Here is one more sample of his thought, again from the *Saturday Evening Post* article: "Our goal must not be simply to keep freedom from shrinking but to make it grow too. Our goal must be a free Cuba, a free Eastern Europe, a free Russia, a free China." Does this sound as though Mr. Nixon is sabre-rattling? Not so. Here's his next line: "And every policy must be directed to reach that goal through peaceful means."

In other words Mr. Nixon has covered his tracks admirably. The United States, he says, must: a) free Eastern Europe, b) not use force to do so, and c) not use peaceful means which would "directly or indirectly" give the impression that we accept Communist hegemony in the area, as any sort of diplomacy would tend to do. Just what he has in mind, then, is somewhat unclear. Mr. Nixon seems to be

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committing himself to freeing Eastern Europe without recourse either to force or diplomacy. If this sounds to readers like a re-run of Mr. Nixon's position on Cuba, we admit it strikes us the same way. Sometimes, after a dose of Nixon prose, we get to feeling so low that even Goldwater doesn't look so bad. Well, almost that low.

Situation Normal

ONE THING we have always appreciated about some elements in the Roman Curia is their consistency. While the rest of the Church has been busy trying to bring to fruition the work of Pope John XXIII and the Council, they have sailed on in their ancient course, looking neither right nor left. As if to confirm our sense of security that no "novelties" or "innovations" (to use some time-honored curial language) will quickly take root in such hard soil, we have noted with interest the report that a number of books have been banned from Catholic bookstores in Rome. The books, according to a *New York Times* dispatch, include Robert Kaiser's *Pope, Council and World,* Xavier Rynne's *Letters from Vatican City,* the works of Hans Küng and Teilhard de Chardin.

Such a news item would normally not spark much interest. It is hardly news to hear that such things go on in Rome. But there is a difference this time. For the aim of the ban, it turns out, is to keep the books out of the hands of bishops "coming from faraway lands." In this respect, we see a significant "innovation," if not "novelty." Normally speaking, it is solicitude for the hapless and easily misled layman which leads to such bans ("offensive to pious ears" is a characteristic expression). The bishops, it was usually thought, could take care of themselves. But, on second thought, if the principle is a good one for laymen, why not for the bishops as well? We see no way to fault this kind of logic. Thus, what appeared at first glance to be "novelty" may turn out to be only a simple exercise in deductive logic. We would hesitate to pass a judgment—we just do not know what they were thinking.

Actually, it may turn out that the whole business was a publisher's publicity stunt. After all, if one wanted to sell books on the Council one could hardly imagine a more effective ploy than having the books banned. One banning, they say, is worth a thousand good reviews. Yet again we hesitate to pass judgment. We are just not certain that the publishers have this kind of influence in Rome.

Meanwhile, back in the local compound, the rector of the Catholic University of America opened the school year by urging on the students the "practice of obedience toward those in authority" and warning them of the dangers of a "self-willed independent spirit." That is good advice and will help to clear the air. Ever since some independent spirits took the initiative of inviting Fathers Murray, Küng, Diekmann and Weigel to Catholic University last year, many of us have been worried that a spirit of Catholic liberty was rearing its head there. We feel more secure now.

A Blow to Democracy

ONCE AGAIN, events in Latin America show that the tradition of the military coup has far deeper roots than the Anglo-Saxon tradition of an orderly, democratic change of government. As ever, the real power—for better or worse—resides in those who have armed might to make their viewpoint prevail. As ever, the people are rarely consulted—even though there is some evidence now that Latin American military leaders are far more sensitive to social issues than their predecessors in other generations.

Nonetheless, the brute fact is that both in the Dominican Republic and in Honduras, the military take-overs were directed against elected governments. To make matters worse, both countries were involved in a significant historical effort to introduce a democratic tradition. Even assuming one cared to justify an overthrow by military coup, there is little evidence to suggest that either nation had failed in its attempt at democracy. The action of the Administration in suspending aid and diplomatic relations seems to us the only reasonable course open.

Bog-Down on Civil Rights

AS THE House Judiciary Committee takes up the most sweeping civil rights bill under serious consideration in our history, the focus shifts from local demonstrations to Congress itself. It is six weeks since the impressive March on Washington, which was followed by the fatal bombing in Birmingham. Extremely limited additional progress in desegregation has been achieved this fall in the nation's schools. Negro employment continues to lag badly. The milder civil rights legislation President Kennedy has called for is hardly adequate.

The need for further government action is emphasized in the Civil Rights Commission's biennial report to the President and Congress; its specific recommendations are unanimous for the first time. One of its most damaging findings has to do with voting rights. In a hundred counties in eight South-

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ern states five per cent of the Negroes of voting age were registered in 1956. Since then—after two civil rights acts—the proportion in those counties has risen only to 8.3 per cent. Yet there has not been a single instance where federal referees were appointed as provided in the 1960 Civil Rights Act when there is attested evidence of local discrimination against Negro voters.

The bill being considered by the House therefore assures, among other things, surer guarantees of the right to vote. With Birmingham and other cities in view, it gives the Justice Department authorization to take action against police and other local officials. It assures the Negro access to privately owned public accommodations. It sets up an FEPC with power to correct employer and union discrimination. Its passage substantially in its present comprehensive form could mean getting down to essential business at last. To cite the preface to the Civil Rights Commission's recommendations: Clearly this "nation cannot continue to deny equality to Negro and other minority groups without compromising its integrity and eroding the moral foundation that is its greatest strength."

James O'Gara is at present in Rome. His weekly column, "All Things Considered," will be resumed shortly.

A NEED FOR REFORM

Pope Paul's Address to the Curia

Rome

ON September 21, eight days before the Vatican Council reconvened for its second session, Pope Paul VI gave clearer evidence than Pope John XXIII ever did of what lies in store for the Roman Curia, that much-criticized executive arm of the pope. Exactly at ten o'clock that Saturday morning, the new pope walked into the Room of Benedictions, the immense hall over the porch of St. Peter's, to meet the assembled Cardinals, clerical and lay officials, their staffs and other workers at the Vatican. Without script in his hand, he apologized for what might seem to be a long forthcoming talk; with that in view, he then declared the rest of the day a holiday. The applause had hardly died when he added that he was also granting each one a raise in salary; more applause.

Pope Paul's prepared discourse, which he then drew out and read, was a jewel of Italian rhetoric, subtle, civilized, telling. When he concluded, the applause swelled ever louder until he finally broke in on it to impart his blessing. His words left his hearers visibly heartened, and members of the Curia were still saying for some days afterwards: "What a talk! It needed saying. At last!" But the talk was a two-edged sword; in which direction it cut most, it is too early to tell.

For most of his talk, the pope encouraged the members of the Curia, reminding them that for thirty years he had been one of them, had many unforgettable friends among them, shared many memories of trying and joyous days with them. He spoke in a soft Italian, under whose affection and intimacy, however, was the grip of a strong intelligence and will. Throughout, Pope Paul insisted that vis-à-vis the Curia he was in command. Describing the essential relation between pope and Curia, he regularly used expressions like "conformity of spirit," "immediate adherence," "absolute obedience," "identity of view." On the one hand, he thus took any proposed reforms of the Curia under his own protection; the Curia is *his* administrative arm, not to be reformed by "outsiders." From its rapport with him, he noted, the Curia derives "its necessity, its usefulness, its dignity, its authority," and indeed "its justification, or rather its glory." On the other hand, the pope seemed to be clearing the channels of authority—and therefore of institutional reform—for whatever directions the Council might help decide.

The Pope told the assembled Curia he spoke with a triple intent: "to praise you, to bring you peace, to exhort you." Each of these purposes seemed a phase in his presentation of the reforms to be expected. He spoke as if everyone knew that reforms were needed, he recalled that the present order of things dated from 1588 under Sixtus V, and has not been revised since 1908 under Pius X and 1917 under the new code of canon law. "It is understandable," he said, "how such an institution can be burdened under the weight of its own venerable age." Even his severest phrases here seemed palatable to his audience; did he not make clear that these reforms will be formulated and promulgated by the Curia itself?

THE CORE of the pope's thought lay in the next few sentences. He mentioned these specific lines of reform: (1) The Curia would need a "larger supranational vision." (2) It would need to be "educated with a more accurate ecumenical preparation." Pope Paul here quoted from St. Bernard, the 11th century reformer: "Why not choose from all over the world those who one day will have to judge the whole world?" The choice of St. Bernard was subtly done; only a few paragraphs before the pope had congratulated the Curia for a piety and devotion such that, "Today,

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fortunately, St. Bernard would not write his burning pages on the Roman ecclesiastical world, nor would the reformers of the 16th century."

(3) The Curia "will not be jealous of the temporal prerogatives of other times, nor of external forms no longer suitable for expressing and teaching truths of profound religous meaning." (4) The Curia will not be "miserly with its powers, which today, without injuring universal ecclesiastical order, bishops themselves can exercise better locally." (5) "Questions of economic advantage will never have weight in suggesting a certain reserve and a certain centralization of organs of the Holy See, unless necessary for the good of ecclesiastical order and the salvation of souls."

Pope Paul then elaborated on the fourth of these points, though cautiously. He observed that even now the various branches of the Curia rely on bishops around the world for advice and help. "We will go further: if the Ecumenical Council should manifest a desire to see associated in a certain manner and for certain questions, in conformity with the doctrine of the Church and canon law, some representatives of the bishops . . . with the supreme Head of the church, in the care and the responsibility of ecclesiastical government, surely the Roman Curia will not be in opposition." This hint to the Council will not be overlooked.

Taken together, these five points, and especially the fourth, realize every major line of reform proposed by many among the Council Fathers in last fall's session. If the Curia is international in outlook, many objections against it fall. If the bishops regain the use of the powers that by right belong to them, to decide the status of certain marriage cases and liturgical usages, for example, and the sense of creativity and responsibility which these powers encourage, the Church should, it is hoped, become much more sensitive to local conditioning and needs. If an international "cabinet" of representative bishops is formed to meet regularly in Rome, a new check and balance will be inserted into the institutional structure of the Church, more in conformity with the ancient collegial character of the episcopacy.

There is, however, one major area of Curial reform about which the Pope did not speak directly. That is the question of free speech and free public discussion of doctrine and practices. It still is not possible for a Catholic to speak with simplicity and frankness on all matters of his personal beliefs, on birth control or the uses of authority for example; and in the United States it is less possible than in Europe, except for Ireland. There is today no medieval Inquisition to fear, but one's reputation as orthodox and, conceivably, one's right to the sacraments are still at stake; priests are more vulnerable than laymen. The exigencies of orthodoxy, keeping intact a message committed to the vicissitudes of history, require a certain watchfulness against heresy. But other elements regularly enter the situation: a lack of love for inquiring intelligence and the quest for understanding. The Holy Office, charged with watching over the purity of the message, is the central focal point for criticism in this matter. "Function most delicate," the pope said, "to be custodian or echo of divine truths and to fashion a language and enter into dialogue with the human spirit."

The Pope referred often to critics of the Roman Curia, many of whom, he noted, have been egregiously unfair. Cardinal Ottaviani, chief of the Holy Office, for example, has been made the villain of morality plays attempting to dramatize the first session of the Council. No matter how good the Curia might be, the Pope suggested, it could never be good enough to measure up to the standards of the Gospels; it is always fair game for critics. He urged the Curia to accept the criticisms as a stimulus, to receive them with humility, with reflection, even with gratitude. "Rome has no need to defend herself by becoming deaf to suggestions which come from upright voices, and all the less when these are voices of friends and brothers."

In the course of his talk, Pope Paul described himself as one "who today has made his own the heritage of Pope John XXIII . . . and makes of it a program for the entire church." Where Pope John ruled with kindness, Pope Paul, it appears, will rule with workmanlike tact, energy, and skill. He does not have the ways that made Pope John loved, but he is in turn gifted with abilities men of affairs will increasingly recognized and admire. The second session of the Council will be his as much as the first was Pope John's, not because either of them intervene but because both of them, each in his way, make the quest for the life of the gospels more possible for the ponderous institution they serve.

Pope Paul has already reduced the number of the moderators of the sessions from ten to four, two of them the noted progressive leaders Cardinal Suenens of Belgium and Cardinal Döpfner of Germany, and the third the leading Italian progressive, Cardinal Lercaro of Bologna; the fourth is Cardinal Agagianian, the Armenian member of the Curia. He also decided to invite laymen to participate in the Council. Finally, in perhaps the most revolutionary step so far, he has so diminished the emphasis on the secrecy of the Council sessions that the press, though not present in St. Peter's for the sessions, will now have access to full information from the participants. Since one of the most powerful forces generated by the first session of the Council was the worldwide "education in theology" made possible by the press, the effects of this new decision on countless individuals around the world and, by reaction, on the Council Fathers themselves, will be difficult to calculate.

MICHAEL NOVAK

(Michael Novak, a regular contributor to these pages, is currently in Rome for the Vatican Council.)

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The Unhappy Political Marriage Between China and Russia

A Peculiar Partnership

HAROLD C. HINTON

RECENT MONTHS have witnessed a series of events that should have dispelled any doubt that China is challenging the Soviet Union for the leadership of world Communism. In particular, the long editorial of March 4 in *Red Flag*, aimed nominally at Togliatti, proclaimed the Chinese party as the champion of Marxism-Leninism against its main current heresy, "modern revisionism," of which the Chinese obviously regard Tito as the originator and Khrushchev as the major practitioner.

Clearly the main practitioner of "modern revisionism" is also the leader of the strongest of the "socialist" states. As such, he not only commands great power but also—as the Chinese never tire of pointing out—bears a heavy responsibility for helping and protecting other Communist Parties and "socialist" states against their enemies. The Chinese view Khrushchev as at most a transitional figure, obligated to protect the interests of world Communism with the economic and military might of the Soviet Union while the Chinese maneuver themselves into position for an ultimate bid for authority and leadership, at least in the political sphere. Although it is unlikely that the Chinese any longer seriously think that they can unseat Khrushchev if he fails in his appointed role (as they think he has), they have certainly tried to put pressure on him to play that role, for example, by showing a preference for certain of his rivals or former rivals, such as Kozlov.

As the Chinese see it, and it would be difficult to deny that on strictly Communist grounds their case is a strong one, Khrushchev failed miserably to do his duty in the two simultaneous crises of last fall relating to the introduction of Soviet offensive missiles into Cuba and the fighting along the Sino-Indian border. According to the Chinese, Khrushchev failed to support effectively, and in fact betrayed, both his main ally in Latin America and his main ally in Asia. By so doing, he also gave an opening to the Chinese to undermine and discredit him further. Soon afterward one of Khrushchev's favorite "bourgeois" allies, Kassem, was overthrown by an anti-Communist military coup. This bloody episode in Iraq was perhaps the most striking illustration to date of the riskiness of Khrushchev's policy, to which the Chinese have long objected, of aiding and supporting such "bourgeois" regimes in preference, in many cases, to the local Communist Parties.

The events of the months since the crises of last fall are still so fresh as to make interpretation difficult, but a reasonable analysis might go roughly as follows. Until the spring of this year, Khrushchev counterattacked the Chinese vigorously with propaganda and political moves but otherwise gave relatively little attention to foreign policy. His main efforts were devoted to re-establishing his domestic position, which his opponents, the so-called "internal Chinese," were taking advantage of the Cuban fiasco to assault. Khrushchev's effort seems to have been greatly aided by the convenient illness of last spring that befell Kozlov, the front man if not the leader of the opposition. By about the same time, Khrushchev had strengthened his domestic position sufficiently to be able to resume his efforts toward a limited detente with the West, especially on the question of nuclear testing.

WHY SHOULD Khrushchev be interested in such a detente, which tends to lend credibility in Communist eyes to Chinese charges that he is "begging imperialism for peace"? In the first place, Khrushchev knows that the arms race increases the chances, although without necessarily creating an inevitability, of thermonuclear war. The Soviet Union would be the main target of "imperialist" attack in such a war, which would therefore result not only in the destruction of the Soviet Union but in a fatal setback for world Communism, or at any rate for Khrushchev's concept of an essentially Soviet-directed approach to the communization of the world. Obviously, therefore, anything tending to increase the chances of such a catastrophe must be eliminated, provided only that it can be eliminated without prohibitive political cost. To mask his understandably self-interested motivation, Khrushchev charges the Chinese with seeking and promoting, for their own ends, a thermonuclear war, something that they want no more than he does. Some years ago the Chinese consciously created, for political effect, a widespread impression that they would welcome a world war, but they have found that this impression is a political liability and are doing what

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they can, consistent with their own interests and objectives, to reverse it. Significantly, the Chinese have raised no objections to the Soviet-American "hot line" agreement, which confers political advantages on neither side and whose sole effect is to diminish the chances of an unintentional thermonuclear war.

Furthermore, the Soviet economy is under serious strain. Its agriculture has always been backward, and both Stalin's collectivization and Khrushchev's Virgin Lands program have on balance retarded rather than accelerated its long-term progress. Soviet industrial technology, except in certain critical and highly favored sectors such as space exploration, generally lags behind that of the advanced "capitalist" countries. Hence the growth in Soviet economic relations with West Germany and Japan, the Soviet interest in buying steel pipe from the United States, and so forth. Thus the Soviet Union is tending to become increasingly enmeshed in a web of relationships with its self-proclaimed enemies that makes not only war but revolutionary adventures directed against them, except in the case of a few windfalls such as Cuba, more and more difficult and disadvantageous, as well as dangerous.

IT MUST be emphatically said that all this does not mean that Khrushchev no longer intends to "bury" (in other words, outlast and outlive) capitalism. It merely means that he sees no safe and feasible way, at least for the time being, for the Soviet Union to "bury" capitalism except to "coexist" with it—in the sense of avoiding dangerous direct confrontations with it while carrying on economic competition with it, especially in the underdeveloped areas. Even this economic competition is hampered by the overstrained state of the Soviet economy; the Soviet Union seems currently to be cutting back its foreign-aid program. Revolutionary violence in the underdeveloped areas is to be avoided in general, unless it happens to promise some great advantage to Soviet national interests, as the introduction of offensive missiles into Cuba last fall seemed to do. This is one of the main points of difference between Khrushchev and the Chinese, who look on revolutionary violence as the rule rather than the exception.

It is at least legitimate to wonder whether Khrushchev does not intend his current policy of detente and partial retrenchment as a device to gain time until the Soviet Union, with a stronger agricultural and industrial base and protected perhaps by a workable defense (yet to be devised) against intercontinental missiles, is in a position once more to apply forceful pressures to its opponents, whom it hopes in the meantime to have lulled with protestations of "peaceful coexistence." If so, and it seems likely that it is so, Khrushchev cannot afford to give a public indication of his grand design, and he therefore leaves himself open to devastating Chinese criticism to the effect that he has "gone from fear of war to fear of revolution." The Chinese, for their part, may well believe that they must intensify their own efforts to advance their national and revolutionary interests, in case Khrushchev's design should work and pose an unanswerable challenge to them as well perhaps as to the United States.

Whatever his motives for seeking it, Khrushchev's move toward a limited detente with the West began long before the Cuban crisis but was hampered by Chinese pressures, among other things. As his own relations with the Chinese grew worse, his need to appease them grew less compelling. Furthermore, with the colossal Soviet atmospheric nuclear tests of November 1961, the military utility to the Soviet Union of more such tests declined—hence Khrushchev's prompt offer to resume talks on a test ban. In any case, atmospheric and underwater nuclear tests are detectable at a distance, without on-site inspection, so that the "espionage" objection does not apply to a ban on tests of that kind.

A test ban that would rule out only atmospheric and underwater tests, but not underground tests, held some strong attractions for the Soviet Union. A continuation of underground testing, which would be permitted under such a treaty, would enable the Soviet Union to improve its arsenal of tactical nuclear weapons, the field in which it appears to be the most deficient relative to the United States.

BY THE SPRING of this year, Khrushchev had apparently strengthened his domestic position enough to be able to regain forward momentum on this tricky issue. One of his main aims clearly was to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by West Germany, of whose aggressive potential the Soviet Union has, mainly on historical grounds, an obsessive fear. The American-Canadian agreement of May 11, providing for a transfer of American nuclear warheads to Canadian forces, was hardly an encouraging omen on this score, but it coexisted with an obvious interest on the part of the United States government in a test ban, as long as it did not involve an uninspected prohibition of underground tests. A ban on tests other than underground was accordingly negotiated at Moscow, initialed on July 25, and signed on August 5.

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On this treaty the Chinese have loosed the formidable force of their wrath, and Moscow has defended the treaty and counterattacked with an almost hysterical urgency. Why all the excitement?

The Chinese have long demanded complete nuclear disarmament, without conventional disarmament. If this reasonable-sounding proposal were ever adopted, it would bring China far closer to a position of military parity with the United States and the Soviet Union. Even unadopted, it gives China a certain political and psychological leverage on the two superpowers. It also provides the Chinese with a basis for holding that Khrushchev has now betrayed the "socialist camp" again by separating a test ban from the broader question of nuclear disarmament and settling for the former alone. The Chinese claim that the treaty will enable the United States to perfect, by means of underground testing, tactical nuclear weapons for use against Communist-led "national liberation movements" in the underdeveloped areas. They certainly realize that the Soviet Union can also develop such weapons, but they have no real desire to see the Soviet Union operate in the underdeveloped areas except on the strategic plane, where it can have little influence on the internal balance of political power in the individual countries.

Although the Chinese certainly have genuine objections to a test-ban treaty, there are indications from both Soviet and Chinese sources that they are voicing their objections so vociferously with the principal aim of putting pressure on the Soviet Union for a somewhat different purpose. That purpose seems to be to exert enough pressure on the Soviet Union to produce a resumption of Soviet aid to China in the development of nuclear weapons, which seems to have been suspended in 1959-1960. In exchange, the Chinese might be prepared to cease their opposition to the test-ban treaty—clearly a great embarrassment to Khrushchev—and conceivably even to adhere to the treaty in return for a transfer of operational Soviet nuclear weapons that would not require testing. The possible precedent is Canada, which has adhered to the test-ban treaty but is also accepting nuclear warheads from the United States.

THE CURRENT policies of the Soviet Union and Communist China are more than a reflection of the personalities of their respective leaders. These policies, and the differences between them, stem to a great extent from their differing national postures and their differing relationships to the United States. The Soviet Union is the stronger but for that very reason in the greater danger; China is the weaker but also the less effectively inhibited, in the political sphere, by American opposition. Another important consideration is that the Soviet Union is fated by ethnology and economics to be in a position to offer some aid but not much useful advice to the underdeveloped areas, whereas China can offer a great deal of persuasive advice—at least to the extreme left—but not much material aid. China is also making vigorous efforts to exploit its appeal to the underdeveloped areas as a non-white power, to the detriment of both the United States and the Soviet Union.

It seems likely, therefore, that it will take more than the death or removal of the present Soviet or Chinese leader to produce a basic change of policy in Moscow or Peking. It also appears probable that it is beyond the power of either of the two giant Communist regimes to effect a change of leadership in the other. So great is the personal and political animosity between Mao and Khrushchev, however, that all this has not prevented the two from seeking one another's downfall by the means available—ridicule, denunciation, partial boycott, intense competition for influence in other Communist Parties and fellow-traveling organizations, and to some extent active intrigue with opposition elements in each other's party. Each rival seems to have exhausted his resources in this field and resigned himself to waiting for the other's death. Since the two men are very close in age and each has serious medical problems, there is obviously no way even of guessing which one will die first. Regardless of the timing, what are the effects of the two leaders' passing on their respective parties likely to be?

IN brief, and for reasons already indicated, not very great, Khrushchev is apparently trying to transmit his authority to his preferred successor, Brezhnev, rather than to his ailing erstwhile heir apparent, Kozlov, who seems to be the candidate of the opposition. Even if one of the "internal Chinese" of the type of Suslov should succeed, he would probably alter Khrushchev's foreign policy in only two major respects, neither of which would achieve more than a limited bridging of the gulf between Moscow and Peking. He would very likely be less temperamentally disposed to risky adventures such as the Cuban missile episode (parenthetically, it might be pointed out that from this important standpoint Khrushchev is perhaps the worst man who could be in the power in the Kremlin, and not the best, as he has led many in the West to believe), and he would be somewhat closer to the Chinese position on the ideological aspects of some such questions as Yugoslavia's relationship to the "socialist camp." But no more than Khrushchev would he be willing to beggar the Soviet state or risk its destruction for the sake of China or any other country.

Similarly, it seems fairly clear that among those in the Chinese party who will be making policy for the next decade there is a degree of agreement on basic policy toward the outside world that outweighs any differences that may exist. In 1959, when Khrushchev

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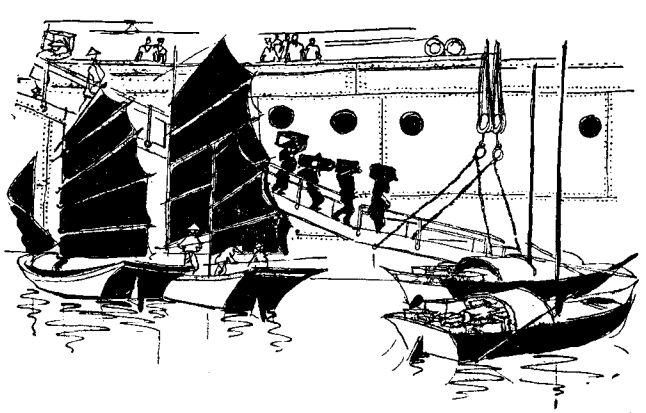
made, through Marshal P'eng Te-huai, his last known effort to intervene, indirectly at least, in the internal affairs of the Chinese party, he could muster very little support, and the strength of anti-Soviet feeling within the Chinese leadership has if anything increased since then. Peking is working hard to pay off its outstanding debt to the Soviet Union and shows no inclination to trade any of its essential objectives—it has already been suggested, however, that under certain conditions the Chinese might regard their opposition to the test-ban treaty as a bargaining counter rather than as an essential objective—for a resumption of Soviet aid.

ASSUMING that what has been said of the conflict of interest and purpose between the Soviet Union and Communist China is at least approximately correct, is a complete and open break between the two likely or perhaps inevitable? This question, often asked and not infrequently answered, is almost meaningless without a careful consideration of precisely what is meant by a break.

To take the more important field of interparty relations (including ideology) first, these have never been very close. The last formal multiparty organization to which both parties belonged, the Comintern, was dissolved in 1943. Since then, there has been no permanent organization representing all Communist Parties but only two multiparty conferences, held in 1957 and 1960. The Chinese have been demanding a third as a forum for the presentation of their views, and 1963 would seem to be a logical year for it, but the Russians have so far been evading it. They are apparently trying to have as many other parties as possible curb or expel their pro-Chinese factions prior to another conference. The Chinese, for their part, are trying to preserve a veto for themselves, come what may, by insisting on the rule of unanimity in multiparty conferences. Bilateral relations between the two parties are not known ever to have been institutionalized, and the recent conference between them in July was apparently a complete failure. Now that each party has begun to name the other openly as the target of its charges, there would seem to be little left that either can do to the other, at least without running the risk of driving some of the wavering third parties into the other's arms.



Accordingly, the conflict has spread increasingly into the arena of interstate relations, each side naturally accusing the other of being responsible for the trend. Here again, the formal organizational structure from which the Russians might try to expel the Chinese is less substantial than many people assume. Both countries belong to that vague entity, the "socialist camp" (the Communist bloc), but this has little organizational existence. China belongs, partly at least by its own choice, neither to the military (the Warsaw Pact) nor the economic (the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance) multilateral organizations presided over by the Soviet Union, and obviously cannot be expelled from them.

CHINA, of course, has bilateral military and economic relations with the Soviet Union, although these have grown increasingly tenuous in recent years. About all of any real importance that is left of them at present is a Soviet commitment to retaliate against the United States if, as almost every one knows to be most unlikely, the United States launches an unprovoked strategic attack on China, and continued but limited exports of Soviet oil to China. The Soviet Union could conceivably repudiate its alliance with China altogether, cut off its oil shipments, break off diplomatic relations, and even declare war. The Chinese obviously have fewer direct pressures available to them, and they have learned that they cannot involve the Soviet Union on their side in any serious trouble that they may create in the Far East unless they make unthinkable concessions to the Soviet Union on other issues, and perhaps not even then.

Although a sort of creeping break in both party and state relations has been developed for some years, there is no certainty that this break will assume complete and final form. There are more restraints working against it than many people realize, even apart from the widely overrated one of the desire not to quarrel too openly under the guns of the "imperialists." Among them are a Chinese desire not to lose contact with the pro-Soviet majority of foreign Communist leaderships or to destroy all economic and military relations with the Soviet Union, and a Soviet desire not to appear in the eyes of the non-white majority of the world's population as bullying the most populous of the non-white countries.

A fairly safe if unexciting forecast would seem to be that it is possible that the unhappy political marriage between the Soviet Union and Communist China will survive, in form at least, for some years to come, and that the numerous current prophets of its imminent dissolution may prove to be as mistaken as those who formerly insisted on its complete harmony.

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A Synthesis of Liberty and Authority is Needed

The Freedom of Priests

DANIEL CALLAHAN

"THE LAY Catholic Population," Father Joseph H. Fichter has written in *Religion as an Occupation*, "is always 'ahead' of the Church professionals. . . . Until, if ever, the class structure becomes fairly stabilized, there will probably be both a time-lag and a class-lag between the ecclesiastical professionals and the laity they serve." Given this "lag" and given the different backgrounds of the older clergy and the younger laity, it is not odd that many laymen should find their dilemmas and aspirations inadequately recognized. Yet if these differences help to explain some of the new tensions between clergy and laity, they do not do full justice to the situation. They do not, for instance, explain why many young priests receive a goodly share of criticism; nor do they explain why, even when there are good and obvious reasons for clerical decisions, many laymen feel that the clergy do not understand them.

If there is any single adequate explanation, it is the fact that the clergy inhabit a different institutional world from the laity. It is a world slow to change, resistant to innovation and settled in its traditions, a world which shapes the priest from his first day in a seminary and which, though less restricted after ordination, does not essentially change. It is marked, to be sure, by a continuing emphasis on the majesty of God, by a genuine sense of vocation and duty, and by a daily life given over to the service of others. But it is also marked by an emphasis on virtues and attitudes different from those appropriate to a layman in the world.

One may begin with seminary education. In a 1959 letter of the Roman Congregation of Seminaries, prepared on the Centenary of the Curé of Ars, the following ideal was urged: "Let discipline, therefore, joyfully embraced, be the touchstone by which superiors test the vocation of their students. Let them demand an obedience, not merely theoretical, but effective, single-minded, and complete in all things, great and small contained in the Seminary Rule." This passage speaks for itself: the great virtues of the seminarian are obedience and acceptance of discipline. While it may in fact be doubted that all seminary rectors would thus exalt these virtues, there can be little doubt that the ordinary seminary is a tightly-run, strictly-controlled and exceedingly formal establishment. In this country, only West Point and Annapolis offer any parallels. From morning to night the student's day is rigidly planned, the standards of conduct exacting and the possibilities of individual initiative limited. Over everything hangs the ever-present realization that his vocation is being tested; and the main criteria are not intellectual distinction, personal devotion or the promise of pastoral imaginativeness, but the ability to accept discipline and display obedience. "Its style of life," one seminary professor, Father Sergius Wroblewski, O.F.M., has said, "fails to achieve a synthesis of liberty and authority. It does not make sufficient effort to address itself to the liberty of another. The attempt is made only to obtain an outer conduct that is objectively correct. . . . The seminary puts emphasis on the instincts of passivity and submission."

ONE IMPORTANT object of this regimen, of course, is to weed out those seminarians who would not have the stamina, self-discipline or seriousness of purpose necessary for the priesthood. Another is to instill in seminarians a full awareness that their role is, essentially, that of a servant of the Church. Still another is to insure that priests are submissive to their bishops and to the authority of the Church. These are understandable goals. But it is not at all clear that this systematic erasing of many important and normally laudable human traits—initiative, self-direction and psychological independence—is actually the best way to produce a clergy capable of understanding the unique spiritual needs of the modern world. Nor is it certain that a way of thinking which is prone to identify the will of God with the will of one's religious superior may not produce some dangerous threats to personal integrity.

Unfortunately, there are still other weaknesses in seminary training. One important shortcoming is that the majority of seminarians are systematically deprived of any significant contacts with the laity. Most seminaries are institutions isolated from ordinary university life, self-contained educational entities; it is a rare layman who even sets his foot inside their doors. There is thus little opportunity (with the exception of brief vacation periods) for the seminarian to learn how the layman is being formed, what expectations he is de-

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DANIEL CALLAHAN is an Associate Editor of The Commonweal. This article represents a slightly modified excerpt from his forthcoming book *The Mind of the Catholic Layman*, © Daniel Callahan, 1963, and is used by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

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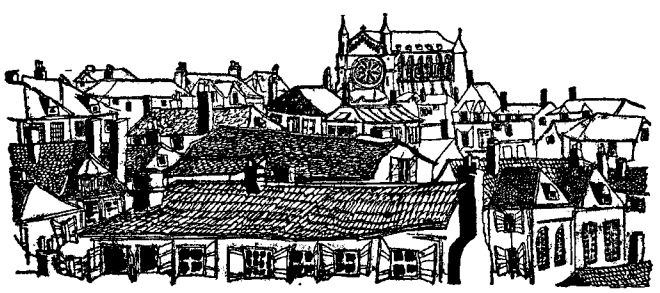
veloping or how a mutually respectful relationship can be achieved.

No less important, the seminarian is given a very scant education in those disciplines which loom so large in the modern world. Unless he makes special private efforts, it is more than likely that the graduate of a seminary will have only the barest acquaintance with literature, psychology, sociology, economics, history and political science. He will almost surely not have wrestled directly with the thought of Hegel, Marx, Freud, Darwin or Kant; or, for that matter, any of those men who have left their mark on this "secular" age of ours. To be sure, many priests are aware of contemporary modes of thought, important intellectual currents and the thought of important non-Catholic scholars. But this awareness is more to their own credit than to that of their seminary education. Under such conditions, many priests undoubtedly find themselves handicapped when faced with well-educated, intellectually sophisticated laymen. However useful a heavy regimen of philosophy and theology may be for part of their training, the price paid in terms of a broad liberal education is very high. There is more to the world than the truths of metaphysics and theology.

FROM THE viewpoint of the layman, even theology would have more value if it emphasized the importance of the layman in the Church. That is not the case. Despite the vast amount of writing, research and historical exploration on the lay problem in recent years, very few of the results have found their way into the formal seminary manuals and courses. Detailed study and discussion of the theology of the laity are all but nonexistent; there is normally only the sketchiest kind of introduction to the specialized lay movements, the concepts and aims of the lay apostolate, and the papal writings on the layman.

More is involved here than a mere omission of these subjects. What the seminarians do receive appears to make it hard for them, even under the best of circumstances, to see the laity as an integral part of the Church. Their study of the nature of the Church is based on the use of traditional tracts which lay heavy emphasis on what Yves Congar, in *Lay People in the Church*, has called "hierarchology": "The treatise on the Church is a particular treatise composed in answer to a Gallicanism, to conciliarism, to the purely spiritual ecclesiology of Wycliffe and Hus . . . Modernism, and so on. It follows that it is composed in reaction against errors all of which call the hierarchical structure of the Church into question. . . . But if theology *de Ecclesia* be practically reduced to a 'hierarchology' or, more generally, be made a theology only of the Church's structure . . . there is a risk of the laity being regarded as simply an accident, an appendage of the Church."



It is difficult not to conclude that in many vital respects seminary education is badly deficient. Whatever its other virtues, it is an education ill-designed to prepare a priest to cope with the layman; and the more educated the layman, the poorer by contrast appears the preparation of the priest. Ironically, one great aim of seminary life is to emphasize the importance and dignity of the priesthood, and one way this is done is by stressing the ascetical superiority of the clerical to the lay life. This is perfectly proper, of course. But it too often turns out that the priest is given an exalted image of his role without, at the same time, being provided the type and quality of education designed to make him a natural guide to the layman. This discrepancy is a major source of clerical bewilderment and lay disenchantment. In the end, the seminarian is far better prepared to live in the clerical than in the lay world; yet he can be an effective priest only if he knows both worlds.

NOW it might be hoped and expected that ordination would mark a decisive change in the life of one trained for the priesthood. In many ways it does: his vocation has been tested, his status secured, and the worst burdens of disciplinary restrictions lie behind him. But in some very important respects, the change is not too striking. Most pertinently, the standards of obedience and respect for ecclesiastical authority remain as high as ever. Not only is there a tight chain of command in most dioceses, but there is also little opportunity for the priest to exercise any personal initiative in his daily life. Whatever he does of any importance can only be done with the approval of his bishop; and the bishop must be consulted, through the chain of command, before and not after he acts. "It is probable," Father Fichter has commented, "that the ordinary rank-and-file functionary in a large diocese or religious congregation sometimes thinks of himself as being caught up in [a] bureaucratic system. In varying degrees he has noticed how rules and regulations seem to be emphasized for their own sake, how he is sometimes treated like a child without responsibility or initiative or personal competence."

That many priests chafe under this system is undoubtedly true. But there are others who find it ideal. "We hear much today" Father Reginald Redlon, O.F.M., has said, "of reasonable obedience. Superiors must give

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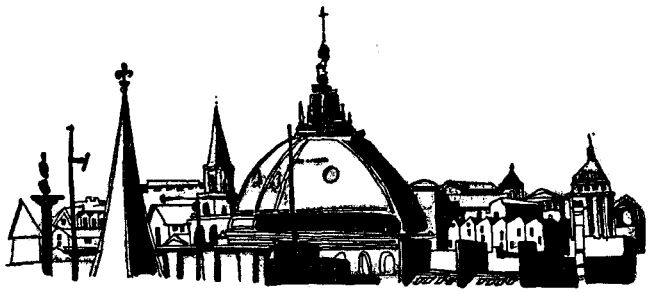
a reason when they command, and the reason must be convincing and satisfying. This is nonsense! Having vowed to God your life, it is reasonable to accept His authority unquestioningly, without compromise and without 'taking a vote'." Sic!

At first glance, it might appear irrelevant to stress the role of obedience in the priest's life. What possible bearing could it have on his relationship with the layman? Unfortunately, it does have considerable bearing, first, on the way it forms a priest's outlook toward the layman. If it leads him to see respect for authority as the greatest of virtues, then he is very unlikely to appreciate the layman's need for personal exercise of responsibility. If docility and passivity are seen as preeminent marks of the Christian, then self-initiated and self-directed acts are likely to be viewed only as signs of rebellion or sinful pride. If an orderly chain of command and a precise bureaucracy are seen as models for all human organizations, then there will be very little room for small, flexible, self-sustaining lay groups or purely individual initiative. If paternalism is taken to be the surest way to maintain order and conformity of thought, then the whole idea of a lay apostolate becomes meaningless.

THE ROLE of obedience bears, secondly, on the degree of freedom which the priest may exercise in behalf of the laity. As the parish and the diocese are structured today, there is little opportunity for the individual priest to grant what he personally may recognize as a legitimate request. He cannot institute liturgical reforms without episcopal permission. He cannot delegate major responsibilities to laymen. He cannot restructure parish organizations as laymen might reasonably desire. He cannot institute building programs without permission. If he is a curate, he can do no more than the pastor will allow him to do. If he is a pastor, he cannot act without the consent of his bishop. To be sure, the degree of discipline exercised varies considerably from parish to parish, and from diocese to diocese. But in few dioceses is a priest allowed to forget that his first loyalty is to the bishop. Rarely does a priest live in fear of his parishioners. He frequently lives in fear of his bishop.

The great merit of this system is a well-disciplined body of priests. Order and authority are served. But it is a system which makes it exceedingly difficult for a priest to respond quickly, flexibly and imaginatively to the changing circumstances of the layman. If not by choice, then by necessity, the organization of the Church must be served first; after that comes the layman.

There is no desire to be harsh here. On the contrary, my aim is to show that the relationship between clergy and laity is greatly complicated by the nature of clerical training and clerical life. The clergy is shaped to live one mode of life, the laity another. And it is exactly the



different outlooks shaped by these modes of life which help explain an increasing tension among clergy and laity. In our society the layman, by dint of his education and social position, has managed to carve out large areas of personal freedom and decision. He is now used to being judged in terms of his professional skills. He is now free to live where he likes, do the kind of work he likes, and change jobs if he likes. The world in which the layman lives is one marked by freedom and self-direction. These are not the marks of the clerical world.

In one sense, of course, there is no reason why a priest should have precisely the same kinds of freedom as a layman. The priest has a set of duties and obligations, as well as a calling, different from the layman. That much is obvious. Thus rather than asking, should the priest have all the freedoms available to the layman, it is more appropriate to ask: should he have the freedom necessary to fulfill his own priestly life? Should he have the freedom which will enable him, on the one hand, to understand the risks and challenges of his vocation as a priest to the fullest; and, on the other, to be able to offer to the layman his own life and conduct as a model of what the Christian should be in the Church and in the world? I presume most people would answer these questions with a resolute, "yes, of course."

A LITTLE probing, however, will show that he often does not have even these elementary freedoms. Why, for instance, was the summer of '63, and especially the August 28th March on Washington, the first significant moment at which priests took part in civil rights demonstrations? The reason is not, as some have suspected, that American priests just have no interest in public protest against discrimination—though this is no doubt true of a great number. Instead, it turns out that in innumerable dioceses priests have been forbidden to take part in demonstrations. In more than one place those who marched in a picket line were severely censured by their bishop.

Or, to pick at random, it is (or was, until the Council) impossible in some dioceses for a priest to appear on a public platform for an ecumenical discussion with ministers or rabbis. These bans rarely have anything to do with the theological competence of the priests; they apply to every priest in the diocese. (On more occasions than I care to recall, I have been asked by Protestant

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groups to speak to them about Catholicism; very flattering, of course—until it turns out that I was asked because some priest, their first choice, was "refused permission by the chancery office.") No less serious a problem is the difficulty many professional theologians have in obtaining an *Imprimatur* for their books and articles. This is a fact well known to every Catholic publisher, though it has been successfully hidden from the general public. Naturally, it is fair to assume that some portion of these works would pose a genuine threat to faith and morals. But it is also safe to assume that a great number of refusals of permission to publish reflect the timidity and special biases of curial officials, local censors and bishops.

Father Hans Küng put in a clearer light that which has been excused for decades as somehow an indication of the Church's higher wisdom on freedom. Somehow, too, we accepted the transfer of the outspoken priest to the proverbial sticks, the silencing of those who took the papal encylicals a little too seriously—but why go on? The layman has suffered from these things, the priest has suffered, the Church has suffered. No longer is it possible to separate the freedom of the layman from that of the priest. There are no alternatives to freedom.

Taking Giant Steps

Are Demonstrations Self-Defeating?

THOMAS R. BROOKS

MIDWAY this summer of our discontent, President Kennedy voiced the Establishment's obvious relief at what seemed a respite in the current civil rights struggle. Although the President did warn that "if there is a period of quiet . . . we should use it" to redress grievances, he clearly thought it a good thing if the demonstrations—"particularly in their extreme form"—were to subside for a time.

At his August 1 press conference, the President went on to criticize Negro tactics of the more militant kind. And, I gather from listening to random conversations over the past few weeks, the President spoke for a goodly number of "friends" of Negroes. "A quick demonstration in the streets," declared the President, "is not the immediate answer" to civil-rights problems. The struggle for equality, he said, is a "long, drawn-out task, which requires jobs, which requires education, and all the rest."

"I think," continued the President, "in some cases they [demonstrations] were becoming self-defeating. And particularly demonstrations . . . that I've read about recently seem to me to be rather fringe actions. I thought they were self-defeating."

The President, as it turned out, misjudged a lull in the battle for an armistice. But what is somewhat exceptional in so able a political strategist, the President also seems to have seriously misjudged the current Negro strategy and tactics. No one really likes to go to jail. But we live at a time when some must go to jail to discomfort the comfortable, open their eyes and force them to confront reality. Otherwise, despite our faith in the ballot box and in the long run, the record shows there would be little or no progress. Direct action is one aspect of democracy we ignore at our peril.

The dismal statistics of unemployment among Negroes are all too familiar. But though "known," these figures are unpresent, without immediacy for us. Though it may sound harsh, this in a sense was the Negroes' fault. Frustrated, unseen, the Negro unemployed sat on Harlem stoops, or loitered on Harlem streets. Any disturbances, so it seemed, would be written off as "race riots," not seen as demonstrations for jobs or equal opportunity.

Several years ago at the height of the lunch counter sit-ins, I asked James Farmer of CORE when—and how—a comparable effort would be mounted by Negroes for jobs? As I now recall the interview, he replied that he did not know though CORE was giving the problem considerable thought and the need for jobs was pressing. But, he asked how do you sit in for non-existent jobs? Where's the leverage?

The government is one answer. But the ballot box has produced a "do-nothing" Congress for more years than one cares to remember. Furthermore, willing hands were needed to lay hold of the lever. And, until the sit-in victories provided the much needed lift in morale, the Negro community was much too apathetic. The civil rights revolution has, of course, changed all this. Now, the Negro community is ready, willing and able to move on all possible fronts towards equality. Small wonder then that the picture sometimes seems confused when

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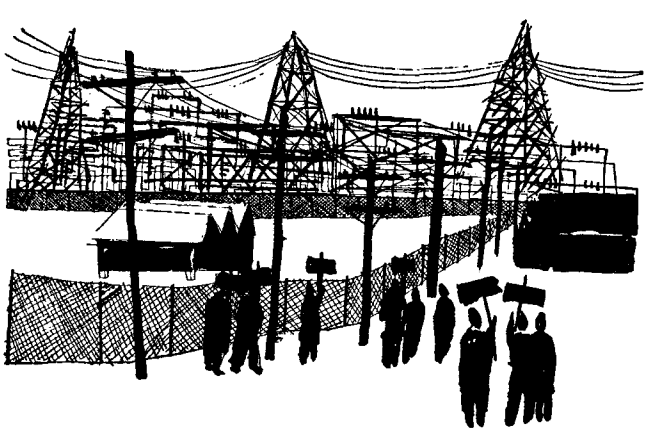
we see, wherever there is space enough for a human body to sit, someone so engaged.

Still, to focus on the job-rights sector, the problem of where to best place the crowbar to pry loose job opportunities for Negro workers has nagged the so-called "new" Negro leadership for several years. This summer, as we can plainly see, the right spot was located with admirable skill.

The construction industry is vulnerable on a number of counts. First, the union-erected barriers against Negro employment were plainly visible, thanks to spade work by Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the NAACP. Local 2 of the Plumbers, for example, has 3,300 members; none is Negro. Yet, there are a thousand out-of-town plumbers working in New York City. Second, the industry is expanding; the long-term trend for construction jobs is up. Third, a good deal of this expansion is underwritten by government—Federal, state or local. The Congressional porkbarrel is filled with construction work of one sort or another—housing, hospitals, roads, schools, and so on. While politicians feed at the industry's banquet tables, the industry feeds at the public trough. This makes for a two-way street along which demonstrations may be mounted for maximum effectiveness. Fourth, and last, construction projects take a lot of complicated planning. Even a slight picket line manned by outsiders can disrupt work, creating some very costly headaches indeed.

So with a wisdom made manifest by hindsight, we should not be surprised by the construction-site demonstrations. First, in Philadelphia, then at Brooklyn's Downstate Medical Center, the Rochdale Houses in Jamaica, Queens and at countless sites across the country, pickets began to march as the summer unfolded. Mass arrests followed with the headlines right behind. The necessity of keeping up the pressure, which reflects itself in the problem of keeping the story alive on the front pages of the daily newspapers, accounts for some of the silly-season aspects of the demonstrations. To outsiders these aspects frequently seem "self-defeating." Or, as one hears frequently among middle-class whites, "I couldn't agree more with their objectives but it seems to me that such stuff will backfire in the long run."



In the short run, the obvious fact that such tactics have worked seems to me hard to escape. Victories, setbacks and new gains follow one another so swiftly that one is hard put to keep up with the events. But does anyone seriously doubt that the Secretary of Labor would have ordered the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training to eliminate discrimination in its operations and to boot reject a plea from the industry for time to adjust—without the *continuing* demonstrations? The power to act has been present for nearly half a century. The NAACP has complained repeatedly and intensively these last five years of discrimination in federally aided apprenticeship programs, to no avail. Then, by some miracle, within the space of two weeks we get action.

THE APPRENTICESHIP battle was won this summer; all that remains is a mopping up action. What about the much more difficult task of integrating Negro journeymen into the building and construction trades? Here again the mass demonstrations have paid off to an extent that would have been unbelievable as recently as last winter. The industry and the unions have formed a national equal opportunity committee. And, while the committee currently is engaged in trying to both open and shut the door to Negro craftsmen, the direction in which it must move is already discernible in agreements worked out in Cleveland and Detroit by local industry groups and civil-rights spokesmen.

In Detroit, contractors and union leaders quietly agreed on a policy statement committing the unions to accept as members any qualified applicant. The industry-union group also designated Professor Ronald W. Haughton of Wayne University as a consultant to a joint industry committee set up to implement the anti-discrimination pledge. Detroit contractors and building-trades unions acted in response to pressures from the Negro community channelled through the Trade Union Leadership Council, an affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council. "There is no question," says Horace Sheffield, a TULC vice president, "that we are definitely blazing a trail here in Detroit." Negro unionists in the auto city believe that the barriers to discrimination within the construction industry now have been breached.

In Cleveland, the United Freedom Movement, a local Negro action group, secured an agreement with the plumbers' union and plumbing contractors that calls for the organization of Negro craftsmen working for Negro contractors. There are about 39 of these with about 150 employees. The Negro journeymen are to be admitted into membership of Local 55 as journeymen on passing the standard examination. If they feel the examination is unfair, they can appeal to a review committee com-

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posed of a nominee of the U. S. Department of Labor, the national plumbers' union and the United Freedom Movement. The apprenticeship program is also to be open to all without discrimination. The agreement ended a work stoppage called by white plumbers in protest against the hiring of two Negroes on the Cleveland Mall project. It also forestalled mass picketing planned by Negro groups.

Significantly, the Cleveland pact offers building and construction unions a trade union way out of a Jim Crow impasse. The NAACP, according to Herbert Hill, plans to press for its adoption throughout the country. For alongside the unionized segment of the construction industry, there has grown up over the years a non-union sector, largely Negro. Recently, to secure equal bidding privileges on federal construction jobs for their employers and work for themselves, Negro tradesmen have been joining independent unions. The Cleveland pact if it should become a precedent—and this seems almost inevitable—would forestall this threat to AFL-CIO craftsmen. It would also add a significant number of members to the Federation's declining rolls.

But the giant steps taken in Cleveland and Detroit would not have occurred had it not been for the mass demonstrations of this past summer. Nor will the pattern spread, if the past offers any lessons, without further demonstrations, or at least the threat of demonstrations. This is not to say that Negro demonstrators or their leaders will not make mistakes. They will. Presumably, they will learn as much or as little as anyone else from such mistakes.

Still, it isn't tactical mistakes that worry whites of good will. We have been so complacent for so long that we find ourselves uncomfortable in the presence of revolutionaries, who feel as revolutionaries always have, "that those who are not with us are against us." Beyond that we feel the dismay of those who find satisfaction in the use of the ballot box—or who at least are not dissatisfied enough to seek change outside its confines—when confronted by those who must, in Lenin's phrase, vote with their feet.

And, this is what the Negroes are doing as they march through the streets of Washington or sit down outside some construction site. The present non-violent tactics, as Marvin Rich of CORE points out, "are positive ends in their own right." The demonstrations cut across class lines; the Negro minister marches along side the unskilled worker and what we witness is a Negro achievement, the growth of pride and self-identification. This stands with the breakthroughs in civil rights as one of the major achievements of our time. We are all the better for it.

"The Feminine Mystique"

Doing Daddy In

JEAN HOLZHAUER

THE TIMES were ripe for another serious investigation of the status of Woman. Not that such investigations had been lacking, lately: the past ten years in the United States possibly have seen more books, more magazine space devoted to the subject than ever. So persistent, didactic and contradictory is the stream of advice to and about women that a standard defense has been born.

"Here's another 'thing' about Woman," a female college professor sniffed, last week, "——whoever She may be."

Such individual confusion is inevitable, and only half a joke. Who is today's American woman? The rosy girl in the ad, who sets the timer of her electric oven and leaves her gleaming kitchen for the bridge- or the committee-table? The wife who sometimes wishes her husband dead, or the one who plots to keep him alive long enough to enjoy his retirement? The girl in the front row of the P.T.A., or the one at home baking bread? She who orders department store curtains to match the wallpaper, or she who dyes and weaves her own?

The source of confusion is more than multiplicity. Most treatments of the subject use a point of departure other than the women themselves. Religious or cultural tradition, psychiatric theory, the perennial notion that life was more beautiful in a do-it-yourself society, the simple, contemporary desire to sell more cosmetics, more electric stoves—these are only a handful of motivations for Woman's friendly counselors. Strong, or perhaps non-existent, is the female who can stop her ears, decide for *herself* what she should do and be.

It is notable that since the end of World War II, those "back to normal" years when most young women

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"readjusted" by marrying and bearing children as quickly as possible, the emphasis of feminine image has been domestic. Careers were "out," career women suspect as masculine and neurotic. Suburbia, the new land of plenty, was "in": plenty of money, plenty of barbecue grills, plenty of babies. Medical advances made possible the large families, a prosperous economy, the split-level housing with Danish furniture. Household help was scarce, but Daddy pitched in with the diapers and dishes, and the whole family went to church on Sunday while the nation's press applauded "togetherness."

From the traditionalists' point of view, it was perfection, even though a few traditionalists worried about Daddy enacting his family "role" costumed in an apron. G. K. Chesterton would have approved heartily the spectacle of so many women emancipated from their office boss-dictators and enshrined as queens of the home.

Even for the occasional sour notes, the mothers who needed to be shocked out of depression by insulin or electricity, who took to kitchen drinking, or who ripped off their clothes to run screaming down Whippoorwill Avenue, there were traditional explanations. The only problem was whether these unfortunates were suffering from post-partum shock, sexual maladjustment, the menopause, infrequent Communion, or a mixed marriage, or, conceivably, all five.

THOUGHTFUL women, however, were uneasily and increasingly aware that feminine desperation in domesticity was both more common and more devastating than even such bizarre protests would indicate. It began to appear that for every divorcee, for every screamer-stripper, for every 10 a.m. alcoholic, there were a dozen more wives and mothers quietly slogging along the treadmill on the supposition that their pervasive melancholy was unique.

The suspicion occurred early to Betty Friedan, psychologist and magazine writer. It was corroborated, implicitly or explicitly, in her professional interviews with women and her private conversations with friends. Alerted, she began an organized survey. When the hundreds of opinions gathered by questionnaire and personal interview were in, she had well-documented evidence.

"Each suburban wife struggled with it alone," she reports in her recent best seller (*The Feminine Mystique*, Norton, $5.95). "As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night, she was afraid to ask even herself the silent question—'Is this all?' "

Mrs. Friedan disposes of the theory that today's wife and mother would be better off if a handful of bitter spinsters had not stirred up trouble as Suffragettes in her grandmother's time. A carefully researched chapter presents the Lucy Stones, the Antoinette Browns and Abby Fosters for what they were: deeply feminine, often pretty and married women who had enough determination to seize historic opportunity on behalf of their mothers, sisters and less articulate friends.

As late as the 1940's, she observes, American women thought in terms not only of wifehood and motherhood, but of wider development of their individual talents. Magazine fiction of the period centered on attractive heroines who were loved by men as much for their spirit and achievement as for their sexual possibilities. The stories of the succeeding fifteen years, however, are overwhelmingly of the boy-meets-girl variety, the central problem how to a) catch a husband and b) keep him. Nor is the domestic emphasis confined to fiction. Mrs. Friedan's interviews with today's college girls corroborate the findings of their teachers and school administrators published previously: the majority of contemporary college women plan early marriage; those who are considering graduate degrees and long-term professional careers feel guilty and dissatisfied at defying current convention.

WHAT ACCOUNTS for the puzzling reversal of feminine aims? Mrs. Friedan suggests a confluence of causes: popularization of Freudian psychology with its biological-determination-of-role bias; masculine inattention (or fear) which, especially after a prolonged war, tends to idealize women as sex objects and comfort as domesticity; the enormous influence of manufacturers, who glorify the domestic life to sell everything from frozen foods to flagstone terraces; the somewhat superstitious fear on the part of women themselves, of starting lines of development that marriage will interrupt, perhaps end.

The young, notes Mrs. Friedan, are not the only women exhibiting fears that may be called superstitious. Some mothers who have conquered their misgivings and hired help to enable them to return to interrupted work or studies have later succumbed to real or imaginary social disapproval and gone home again. The escape from exclusively domestic life is harder, the author has found, for women with a strongly structured religious tradition. Mrs. Friedan quotes both Jewish and Catholic women whose guilt at flying from the nest was great enough to send them back to it.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Friedan firmly indicates full or part time flight as the only salvation for the individual woman and society. Her reasoning: there is insufficient real achievement and satisfaction in contemporary domesticity. Few women of even average mentality can experience reasonable pride in accomplishing what most 12-year-olds could. Nor, she contends, is "togetherness" any solution: a husband and wife cleaning the kitchen together are still merely cleaning the kitchen.

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As for motherhood, she points out that, while mother's physical presence may be necessary, even desirable, for young children (my own side observation here is that there is not a shred of conclusive evidence that a loving substitute mother cannot do the job as well, since the object is to teach the child to love, not necessarily to love mother), by the time American children reach school age, their interests and activities have begun to disperse from the home. Like it or not, United States society is no longer exclusively home-centered, and arguments that it is are as dated as arguments for intense nationalism. I would add that this is not at all the same thing as saying that families are outmoded units of society. The observation is that family structure has changed radically, even in the past fifty years.

"THE FEMININE Mystique," as a phrase, may be translated as the cult of biological determination. To Catholic women, it appears all too familiar when expressed as "Man is the head and woman the heart." As a book, *The Feminine Mystique* offers a good deal for women of all faiths, or none, to think about.

Especially, perhaps, Catholic women, for *vis à vis* the Church, woman's goals and self-concepts have been, and are, as ambiguous as anywhere. The traditional concept that woman's place is in the home (or the convent) is sometimes, in emergency, put aside—as in the present and growing appeal for married teachers to come out of retirement to help in the overcrowded and understaffed parochial schools. Historically, the same ambivalence exists. Peacetime brings clerical speeches to the effect that only "godless" societies put women behind plows or tractors, yet few American priests strenuously objected when Catholic frontierwomen helped their men to break the plains, or slay the Indian.

There are, of course, psychological explanations for clerical ambivalence toward women and their role, as well as historical ones. Nonetheless, Catholic women are bewildered. The majority, to be on the safe side, stick to the interpretations of permissible "vocations," and when intelligent American Catholic women are discontented with being the "heart" of the home to a point just this side of suicide, they blame themselves and their sinful natures. It is amazing how many Catholic women castigate themselves for "not being a really good wife and mother," when all they really want is a chance to put their training and ability to work.

But not, says Mrs. Friedan firmly, to volunteer work. Volunteer work—civic committees, the P.T.A., the League, the Alumnae Association—is for the youngest mothers, who can do such things part-time, and often from home. The work women want, and desperately need, is, in our society, professional work: something to do that is important enough for someone to pay for, gladly.

Such productivity does not always involve leaving home. The better dyers and weavers often work up brisk businesses; the tutor, the writer, the consultant can often operate from a home base established on the dining room table, or a packing crate. But this takes determination beyond the usual. Mrs. Friedan recommends getting out of the house.

Some clarification of what is expected of Catholic women will evolve, perhaps in the next generation. Not surprisingly in an all-male hierarchy, little attention has been given the question, although American bishops deplored, with Queen Victoria, the Suffragettes. There is, however, hope. Pope John XXIII listed as one of his five reasons for issuing his last encyclical, *Pacem in Terris,* the world-wide emergence of women.

As one American Catholic woman remarked, "Good for John. Whatever the Council does for our separated brethren, it may do a lot for us."

The Mountain

Leave us here alone
Leave us be to mend ourselves
For only we know keenly what
  the measure is.

Do not burden us
Leave us
For we have much to do
And such little patience
  to reach
For the eternally circling form
Of three in one
And one in three
For your sake please
  let us be.

Listen now listen
The Hallelujah leaps to the sky
And is heard once
And several times
  and forever.

The aching tension
  of the trembling mountain
Heed it
Savor it
And sing sweetly for us
  but let us be.

And when the mountain trembles
And trembles well for you
You too shall know
And beg for us to
  let you be.

WILLIAM VANDERBERG

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THE STAGE

John Osborne's Luther

NOTHING is more dangerous for a moderately gifted playwright, or a moderately gifted painter or novelist for that matter, than to wish to be more profound than he is capable of being, to put his accredited talent into a larger structure than it can fill or press his thought and imagination beyond what they can accurately fashion and steadily control. He has to extend himself, of course, or he won't know, but he also has to be prepared to discover what his limitations are. John Osborne has emphatically tested himself in "Luther," and now he presumably knows, or at least some of us do. More of us would know if it had not been for the predictable response of the daily reviewers, who have found their annual "J. B." early this season—a play of spiritual aspiration and pretension upon which they can bestow all their perpetually impatient adjectives like "inspiring," "ennobling" and "towering" and upon which no understanding whatever has to be expended, only rhetoric.

Not that "Luther" is nearly as bad as "J. B." or Paddy Chayefsky's "Gideon," to take another recent example of art by acclamation. It is better written than those dogged excursions into the impalpable, it has more passion and honesty behind it, and it exemplifies an unequal struggle with one's respectable material, not a pompous act of auto-elevation and adolescent aggression against the gods. If "Luther" is a long way from being promethean, it is also very far from being foolish. But it is certainly not a distinguished or even a particularly good play, since it neither does what it sets out to do, nor accomplishes anything especially valuable by accident, nor maintains any sort of consistency at all, whether of style, tone, procedure or vision.

Above all, it isn't a profound play; that is just what has to be seen about it. Its aspirations to be a large, sweeping, inclusive document about human nature and experience, to be exemplary and symbolic and implacable and hieratic, are continually undercutting its genuine, if modest and desultory, dramatic virtues. The failure is not so much one of language or gesture as of construction and thought: too many ideas float around without a destiny; too many impulses are given freedom and then curtailed; too much is left to history, to our instinctive appreciation of the a priori greatness of the subject; too little is dramatized in place of being merely paraded or announced.

That Osborne should have chosen Martin Luther as a subject is not so far-fetched as it would at first appear. Luther, after all, is an existential hero, and Osborne an existentialist-minded playwright, who has declared his admiration for Jean-Paul Sartre and has built his own chief drama around the existentialist preoccupation with a search for identity and a repudiation of the given, unexamined, inherited situation which life all too easily, and society all too ferociously, keep us in so that we are prevented from becoming what we might truly be.

These were Luther's concerns, a good part of them unconscious surely. Whatever the theological implications of his rebellion, as a man and an historical nexus he represents a plunge back into existence, a recovery, or at least an attempt at recovery, of a personal sense and a private conscience. And he also embodies on a massive scale the principle of the necessity of forging values in action, however much uncertainty there will always be about the rightness of what one does. In one of the closing scenes of the play Staupitz, Luther's old superior, asks him if he was sure of the truth of what he had promulgated, and Luther's answer is no, he was not.

There is still more, by way of explaining why Osborne should have felt attracted to Luther. The latter was a man embattled with his father and with the established order, an *umsterzmensch,* a man who wished violently to shake up the world without having a clear idea of what new form it is to take. "Look Back in Anger" is not, after all, so very differently oriented. But that play was limited precisely by its painful and detailed immediacy; Martin Luther as the protagonist of a drama affords distance, size and perspective; a man whom Kierkegaard described as giving the impression that lightning was about to strike around him at any moment, but who was also, with his anguishes and infantilisms, his violence and brutal invective, his constipation and tortured entrails, the most earthy and earth-ridden of men, is a perfect hero for a play about the necessity and perils of action.

A PERFECT hero, that is to say, if you know how to metamorphose him out of history and into a figure for the stage. But that is just what Osborne doesn't know how to do, not nearly well enough at any rate. The most surprising thing about "Luther," and what contributes so thoroughly to its weakness, is the extent to which Osborne has adhered to the historical facts. Almost all the salient and well-known physical events are here: the fit in the choir, the confrontation with the father after the near-disastrous first Mass, the nailing of the theses to the church door, the trial at Worms, everything but the lightning bolt which led to the decision to become a monk. But they have no new reality.

Besides this, every issue is touched on, but scarcely more than that. Osborne manages to get in something about the papacy, about Luther's psychological difficulties with his father, about indulgences, about the principle of faith justifying works, about the rising bour-

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geoisie, about the peasant rebellion which Luther helped crush, about his notions on celibacy and his strategies for facing the devil. Again whole sections of sermons are taken verbatim from the published works, and remarks that may be found in Luther's writings or in his *tischreden*, his table-talk, or that have been attributed to him, are scattered throughout the play as dialogue or reverie and unfortunately make Osborne's own language seem especially pale by comparison. And finally there is an excessive, pace-killing concern with verisimilitude, seemingly endless processions of monks chanting hymns, elaborate and digressive scenes of religious ceremony, as though Osborne, and director Tony Richardson, were trying to compensate for the amorphousness of the theme by borrowing ritual and grandeur from liturgical handbooks.

The effect of all this is, in the first place, to give the play the feeling of an historical pageant, accurate enough perhaps, inspiring if you are inspired by surface and leased bigness, but lacking in the kind of dramatic pressure which can only be applied by an imagination transforming its material. Almost nothing is transformed here, events, language, significance are simply appropriated, with the wistful hope that tragic beauty, relevance for our time, an existential call to arms, will somehow rise from the scene.

NOTHING is thought through; Osborne's evident desire to be inclusive and epic and historically fair, to give the Church its due and Luther a corrective slap or two, to recognize the importance of the changing social order and the problematic nature of Luther's psychic structure as it reflects our own, leads him to touch on every side of every issue without creating a real dialectic (the meeting between Luther and Cajetan, the papal emissary, is an instance of such a missed opportunity, that between Martin and a knight who reproaches him for having turned against the peasants is another). And his dream of making Luther complex and fateful, the way all our lives are or should be, to fuse history, personality and spirit, is not accompanied by a capacity to do more than arrange them as separate and unassimilated fragments within a drama which lacks coherence, thrust and definition.

A word about Albert Finney. He is as good as he has been said to be, possibly not as subtle an actor as Paul Scofield or as vigorous a one as Laurence Olivier, but for a man in his mid-twenties a remarkable performer who combines the best qualities of each of the others. He does his best with the role and he is supported by an outstanding cast, among whom one should mention Peter Bull, Frank Shelley and John Moffat. But "Luther" cannot be lifted from its smallness and sluggishness and essential mediocrity by even the most brilliant actor in the world. (*At the St. James*)

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

What Makes Sammy Run?

AT THE beginning of "The Running Man," I was afraid it was retelling the story of last spring's "Five Miles to Midnight," a rather foolish thriller in which Anthony Perkins pretended he was killed in an airplane crash so his "widow," Sophia Loren, could collect the enormous insurance. The plots are similar, although stemming from different sources. "Running Man" has a script by John Mortimer based on Shelley Smith's novel, *The Ballad of the Running Man*, and it has Laurence Harvey as the wicked schemer, Lee Remick as his wife, and Alan Bates, who is excellent as the suspicious insurance agent.

"The Running Man" also has the advantage of Carol Reed's production and direction with some stunning color photography of Malaga and other locales in Spain where the plot moves after its start in England. Director Reed keeps all this running at a fast pace, so one is forced to stay awake; but unfortunately interest lags somewhat because there is no identification with the well-acted characters. None is particularly admirable, and after a while you begin to wonder why Alan Bates is romping through Spain with this married couple, and why on earth Lee Remick stays with this thoroughly despicable husband who uses her to continue his insurance frauds and would even commit murder to gain his selfish ends. As an exercise in thrills and suspense, however, "The Running Man" accomplishes its purpose.

A couple of years ago, Laurence Harvey appeared as a cheap, conniving theatrical agent in "Expresso Bongo," a musical film satirizing the sleazy world of strippers and fast agents. Now Anthony Newley plays in a similar film, "The Small World of Sammy Lee," which is not a satire but a realistic portrait of a man on the run in the tawdry Soho district of London. "Small World" started out as an effective British TV play by director-writer Ken Hughes, and was well done on American TV with Mickey Rooney. But expanded into a full-length movie (the director-writer is again Ken Hughes), "The Small World of Sammy Lee" becomes a monotonous study of the grim and depressing workers, gamblers and customers who wallow in the low-life of Soho.

As the fast-talking, risqué emcee in the cheap Peep Show club, Anthony Newley gives a first-rate performance as an amoral man caught in a trap, perhaps of his own making. Sammy is a compulsive gambler, and after welching on a 300-pound poker debt, he is hounded by strong-arm men. He has one afternoon in which to raise the money, and the camera runs with him from place to place as his chances to save his skin grow slimmer and slimmer. One can't like Sammy, but one

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does feel for him, especially toward the end of the film when he displays a few sparks of decency: telling off both the customers and shabby performers at the Peep Show, and sending the pretty young job applicant (Julia Foster) back to the North Country from which she came. Needless to say, the film loses no opportunity to display the dreary night clubs, the drooling audiences, the stripping and the stripped, and the seamy, vice-soaked atmosphere of Sammy's world. To the film's credit, it must be said that this background is shown up in all its false glitter and debasement. "Small World" would have been helped by departing from its single sordid theme and by showing us what started Sammy running in the first place.

Attempting to show what does start a person down the primrose path and what it's like when one gets there is the French "My Life To Live," written and directed by Jean-Luc Godard, one of the New Wave boys. It stars his wife, Anna Karina, as the prostitute whose story is being told. Using a strange technique for cinema, Godard concentrates much too much on close-ups of Miss Karina's attractive though unemoting face and divides his film into twelve episodes which have titles that are as pretentious as the movie itself. Anna Karina plays Nana, the prostitute, well enough in a dead-pan documentary style dictated by Godard. No Irma La Douce, Nana slips into her work through a series of errors and misfortunes, puts herself under the management of a pimp who teaches her the demeaning trade, grows unhappy in her career, and gets killed in a gun battle before the contrived plot can ask a more logical question: Where does she go from here?

Like the "Sammy" film, "My Life To Live" by no means glamorizes its central figure. Much of Godard's picture is told like a documented case history in a mood that is not prurient, but matter of fact with sordid undertones. Actually the film is rather dull and makes one wonder again if the New Wave directors, for all their brilliant first efforts, aren't fizzling out to little ripples on a tired shore.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

OF NOTE

The Thrust of "Progressive" Catholicism

GEORGE A. LINDBECK, professor of historical theology at Yale, is attending the Second Vatican Council as an observer-delegate of the Lutheran World Federation. In an article in the summer, 1963, issue of the Lutheran quarterly theological journal *Dialog* ($5, 315 Fifth Ave., S. Minneapolis 15, Minn.), he discusses the future of Catholic theology in the light of the first Council session. The following is a substantial excerpt from that article:

In trying to characterize the progressive Catholicism of our day, the first thing to understand is the radical change in mentality of which we have been speaking. Its causes are analogous to those which William James gives for sudden conversions. For the last hundred years and more, the Roman Church has tried to maintain its old habits of thought and life in circumstances which made them increasingly ineffective. As is usual in both individuals and institutions, it reacted defensively. More and more it emphasized those features which were peculiarly its own, such as Mariology and papal authority. It became more and more rigid, centralized, authoritarian and clerical. It became more and more suspicious of modern ideas, as is illustrated by the condemnations of liberalism and modernism, and by the official sponsorship of the revival of scholasticism. More and more it separated itself from the contemporary world, retiring into a ghetto. In all this it did not differ from many typical Protestant reactions, but because of its particular institutional character, the Roman Church was able to follow this course much more massively and persistently.

However, the more it tried to strengthen itself by these methods, the weaker it became. The more it attempted to maintain ancient social forms which gave it authority over the people, the more it lost their support. It became increasingly evident that these policies were self-defeating. They sometimes postponed retreat for a time, but when the retreat came, it turned into a rout often even more disastrous than Protestantism experienced. As has been repeatedly observed, anti-clericalism and Communism prosper more in traditionally Catholic countries than in Protestant ones. Yet there seemed to be no alternative. The dominant conviction in the Roman Church was that change would be suicide. Was it not evident that those interested in reform ended up as heretics or secularists?

To be sure, for the last century, ever since Newman and Möhler, there have been instances of thinkers with original ideas who certainly semed to be unshakeably loyal to the Roman Church. However, the authorities were suspicious of them. They were condemned, repressed or ignored. Often these doubts regarding all innovators were apparently confirmed as when a Lamennais, a Tyrrell or a Loisy left the church. Progressive movements which remained inside have learned by bitter experience. They have discovered the limits of the permissible. They have learned what they must say and do in order to avoid the anathemas of Rome. As a result, their advances have been almost covert,

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and some outside observers are not yet aware that they have become dominant in certain countries where the Roman Church had retreated most, where the methods of defensive reaction had most obviously failed, where the masses had become most completely alienated and the governments overtly hostile. In these countries, it was obvious that the church had nothing to lose, and possibly something to gain, by trying the new, so very cautiously the hierarchy allowed experiments to be tried, and in some instances, as in the case of social reform under Leo XIII or liturgical and biblical renewal under Pius X and XII, actually encouraged them. The places where these advances have occurred are, of course, especially France and the Low Countries during the past thirty-five years and, to a somewhat lesser extent, German-speaking lands and some missionary territories.

The results have proved immensely encouraging. The new movements, largely purged of ecclesiastical subversiveness by the condemnations of earlier years, have proved to be, not a handicap, but an asset. They have begun to regain some of the ground lost among the intellectuals and the workers. It is once again respectable for University students and militant members of the labor movement to be Catholic. France has become the only country in the world where Catholicism is no longer either psychologically or intellectually on the defensive, but has a spirit of conquest. It and the other countries of central Europe produce an overwhelming majority of the best Catholic theologians, and these are by and large progressive. Further, this area provides most of the priests and religious and, after the United States, also most of the money. It has only a minority of the bishops and the faithful, but in more ways than one it is the power center of the church.

News of these developments has spread everywhere. For those who are aware of these problems—as anyone must be who is even slightly informed about the contemporary scene—hope has dawned. There is a new way —a way which is loyal to the Roman Church and yet seems to be successful in encountering the modern world. It is no longer necessary to cling to the old patterns which each decade led to new defeats. Many of the older conservatives, even those at Rome, say in effect, "We must at least tolerate and not condemn these upsetting but extremely useful servants of the church." As far as the younger generation is concerned, whenever it is given a choice between the new and the old, it finds the new in every way more appealing and convincing.

Now, more precisely, what are the characteristics of this new mentality? First, there is the absolute conviction among those who are forming the mind of the future that the era which began 1500 years ago with Constantine is dead and buried. Never again will the Church dominate culture and society. Never again in the imaginable future will it be able to rely upon the state except at the cost of its own power. It is simply disastrous to try to maintain the patterns of the past. In short, the new mentality is that of anyone who has opened his eyes to the most unmistakable facts about the modern world. Even where they are not in the catacombs, those whose Christianity is in any sense self-consciously effective are once again a small minority, a diaspora, just as they were in the Roman Empire.

A second conviction, inseparable from the first, is that the church must adapt itself to the contemporary world. The usual phrase is, "it must be open to the world." This is much more than a reluctant consent to adjustments, to concessions, to the inevitable. Such a willingness the Roman Church has always had. It has always been ready to compromise in order to survive. However, this is actually a part of the old defensiveness which the new generation rejects and, indeed, abominates. No, says the modern Roman Catholic, we must positively accept the modern world. We must stop being nostalgic about the past. God has His reasons for bringing the new order into existence. There is good in it and we must learn from it. We must learn from atheists and Communists, from Buddhists and from Hindus, and above all from our fellow Christians, the Orthodox and the Protestants.

THERE is, I venture to say, a far greater willingness to learn from other Christians in certain leading Catholic circles than there is in comparable Protestant groups. Among us, to be sure, there are those who are fascinated by Roman Catholicism, but very often they seem to be uncertain of their Protestantism. This is quite different from the Catholics to whom I am referring. They are unshakeably Roman, and yet they say, as some of the bishops hinted in St. Peter's, in the council, that "We must remember to be grateful to the Protestants for all that they have done to help us appreciate the Bible; we must thank them for the pioneering work which they have done in the use of critical-historical methods, and we must acknowledge that they did much to show us how these could be reconciled with continued belief in the authority of Scripture." Similar words of gratitude are often heard for the lessons regarding the nature and importance of religious liberty and of ecumenicism, and the Orthodox also are showered with praise for the liturgical values, lost from the West, which they have retained. It is true that the Roman Catholics justify this openness on the grounds that all authentic Christian and human values belong to them, to "the" Catholic Church, even when these are better exemplified outside than within their own communion. However, this does not mean that their eagerness to learn and to adapt, to be ecumenical and modern, is insincere or ineffective. On the contrary, it enables them to envisage astonishing transformations with equanimity, secure in the conviction that this will not result in a loss of their church's

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self-identity but rather in the actualization of its essential catholicity.

There is a third aspect of this new mentality which is actually basic. By themselves, the openness and eagerness to reform of which we have spoken are without content and could lead to sheer modernism of the sort which destroys all historical continuity, whether Christian or Roman. What gives substance to the progressive movements, therefore, is the return to the sources, a return, first of all, to the Bible, but also to the fathers and to the liturgy of the first centuries.

The key to understanding this return to the sources is to grasp the role played by modern historical methods and understanding of history. The progressives, of course, use the same techniques we do to ascertain the meaning of ancient texts, but they also realize that the old can never be simply repeated, that it must always be interpreted and reformulated if it is to convey its original meaning to contemporary man. Consequently they struggle in basically the same way Protestants do to answer the question, "What is the meaning, the significance, of this text for us?" The very heart of the immense intellectual and spiritual effort represented by the liturgical movement is the attempt to discover what changes will have to be made if Christian worship is to mean, is to convey, to modern man what it did during the first three centuries when the church was oppressed and persecuted, had no schools and little literature, was composed largely of illiterates, and yet drew the power to grow and to triumph from the liturgies of the Word and the Sacrament. In short, because of its historical perspective, the new mentality is one in which reform and modernization are inseparable from the return to the sources.

The same historical methodology explains how progressive Roman Catholics can partially escape from the dead hand of unalterable and irreformable dogmas. These dogmas are also understood historically, that is, they are placed in the particular circumstances in which they originated; they are interpreted in function of the particular errors against which they were directed. For example, the decrees of Trent on justification were no doubt meant to be directed against Luther, but analysis shows that their authors misunderstood Luther, and so what they actually condemned and forever excluded from the realm of Roman Catholic possibilities was a kind of corrupt or bastard Lutheranism, but not necessarily the genuine article. It is therefore permissible to ask if Luther's theses can be found in the Bible. If so, then a Catholic can, indeed must, hold them to be true. The fact that they are not found in the Tridentinum makes no difference, for dogmatic formulations never express the whole truth, but only that part of it which their authors saw and thought relevant in their particular historical circumstances.

Much the same sort of thing is done with papal infallibility. This dogma was formulated in a particular situation in which the enemy was Gallicanism, which insisted that for a teaching to become dogma it must be publicly and formally approved by the bishops. When understood in contrast to this opinion, that is, in its historical setting, the statement that the Pope may declare the infallibility of a dogma *ex sese, non ex consensu ecclesiae,* simply asserts that the Gallicans are wrong. The Pope can declare a dogma infallible without a public vote of the bishops and without calling a council. However this, according to many Roman Catholic theologians, does not mean that he does not need their approval, and the approval of the church as a whole. Further, they add that the normal and preferable way of defining a dogma is by an ecumenical council which normally, though not necessarily, should have lay participants. In addition, they consider it possible that a Pope may become heretical or schismatic, and in such a case the issue would have to be decided by a council. Thus, even while maintaining their complete acceptance of Vatican I, they insist that there is a certain sense, not dealt with at that time, in which an ecumenical council is above the Pope.

This may look like dishonest casuistry, but Roman Catholic theologians have always been casuists when dealing with the declarations of the magisterium. They must be, for the magisterium has said many things in the course of nearly two thousand years, and not all of them are self-evidently consistent with each other. When casuistry is married to the methods of modern historical criticism, it can find a surprising number of ways around the apparently impregnable barrier of Roman dogma in order to get back to the Bible and into contact with the modern world.

To: EP(K)

Like dust on table corners
left by Martha's ragged hand
you linger, unseen
on the edges of my brain.
But when the light is right,
slants at oppressive angles,
disturbs the silent shadows
in my room and brain,
I see you, and I'm embarrassed,
make excuses to my friends:
"Forgetfulness is hard
to come by these days."
And with an unostentatious
sweep of my smooth hand
I brush your name aside,
or cover up my memory
with some small book.

A. POULIN, JR.

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CORRESPONDENCE

"The Church and Freedom"

Rome

TO THE EDITORS: New insights, especially when they attack an established tradition, are fertile ground for misunderstanding, misreading and misrepresentation. Bishop McManus' letter (September 6th) is an example of the regrettable misunderstanding which has surrounded Father Hans Küng's recent work—a misunderstanding which seems to be in fashion these days among those of an older intellectual generation.

The *"cui bono?"* of Father Küng's thesis on freedom should be quite evident. Man, precisely because he is man, has certain rights which Pope John described as "universal, inviolable and inalienable." One of these natural-law rights is "the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions." John XXIII referred to this freedom, and later to freedom of conscience, without once indicating that the general principle is somehow invalid within the Church. (The quotations are from *Pacem in Terris.*) Father Küng has merely illuminated truths taught by the magisterium with practical, present examples.

The end of the Church—the diffusion of Truth—is no excuse for the adoption of basically immoral means, means usually associated with Communism (the suppression of individual rights). Bishop McManus, I am sure, did not intend to justify means by an end; yet he left the reader with the impression that the means used by the Church must be interpreted in light of her end. Only gross misusage of the English language would describe model Christian parents as "absolutist, centralist, totalitarian." Unfortunately the human side of the Roman Catholic Church, however, could on occasion be properly described by such adjectives.

The Roman Curia as such is certainly not corrupt (although it cries for administrative reorganization), and I seriously doubt that Father Küng has ever wished to accuse it of total corruption. Bishop McManus himself, however, admitted that the Roman inquisitorial proceedings detailed by Father Küng were not misrepresented. The Holy Office never allows defense in a case of condemnation, often publishes a condemnation before informing the defendant, and in not a few cases has leaked news of a condemnation but forbidden the accused to even admit he was condemned. If nothing else, such procedure sins against Pope John's dictum: "By the natural law every human being has the right to respect for his person, to his good reputation."

The Holy Office is our highest judicial body in matters of faith, and it would be highly unsuitable to have its officials engaged in public battles. But a private, just method of operation could be—should be—established. A man who has made an error when writing a

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book, for example, could easily be informed of the error in private and be allowed to revise his text without the curse of public condemnation or well-founded innuendo. Intellectuals within the Church should be allowed to defend themselves, clarify their thought (often correct, but misunderstood), or revise their mistakes without public humiliation.

So-called "liberal" condemnations of Spain are certainly not out of order. Admittedly there is a tendency among progressive Catholics to point an accusing finger at Spain's "religious persecution" while failing to note that other countries have similar restrictive laws. But is it not only right that Catholics clean their own house before running to condemn their Protestant neighbors?

The Church is partly divine and partly human. The divine part assures us that the truths we believe are certain and unchangeable, that no matter what historical accidents the Body of Christ may carry, she shall never die. The human part unfortunately assures us of material which proves the maxim *"ecclesia semper reformanda."* Rotted planks of Peter's barque must be replaced from time to time. Father Küng has approached the Church with love and scholarship, saying things which should have been said long ago, shedding strong light on those small patches which need replacement. Hopefully the majority of the Council Fathers will read what Father Küng has to say without the confusion which marked Bishop McManus' appraisal.

LEO R. PAULL

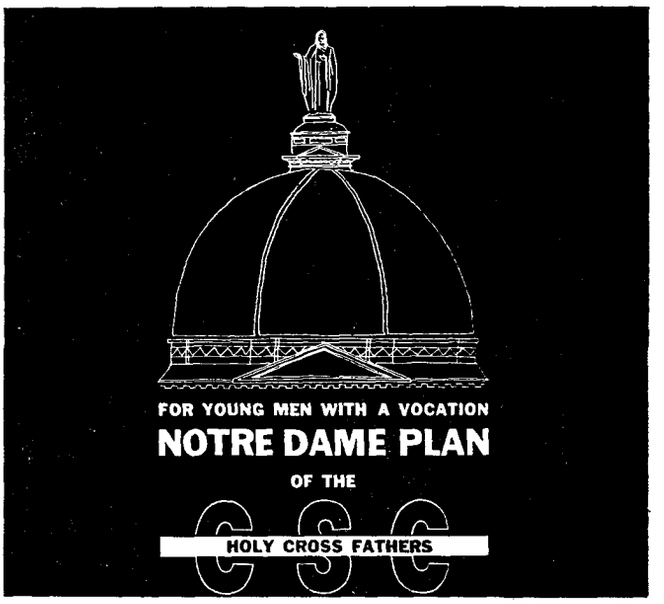
"Marching for Justice"

Los Angeles, Calif.

TO THE EDITORS: I read with great interest, but, I must confess, with some disappointment, Francis Kearns' account, in the September 20th *Commonweal*, of the August 28th March on Washington. The disappointment was not caused by the excellent article but rather by an aspect of the March itself. As Professor Kearns noted, it was encouraging to witness the public commitment by a great number of religious institutions and members.

There was however, a noticeable absence from the religious institutions sharing in this public witness, one on which Professor Kearns does not comment. This was the absence of any Catholic sisters from this open manifestation of concern for racial justice. Another member of the religious community to which I belong and I had obtained the permission of our superiors to take part in the event. When we learned that sisters were not to participate actively we were very disappointed. Most likely there were members of other religious communities who had shared our hope of being participators rather than observers. Perhaps in the future sisters will assume a more active public role in protests against racial discrimination.

SISTER MARY JEAN, I.H.M.



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David Jones: the Myth as Genetrix of Poetry

The Anathemata. By David Jones. Chilmark Press. $5.75.

by Josephine Jacobsen

THERE WAS a lapse of fourteen years between David Jones' first book, *In Parenthesis,* and publication of *The Anathemata.* The two books are very different, but their relationship is essential. The body of a poet's work reinforces itself. This is especially true of Jones. His earlier book (written when he had read no Joyce and little Pound, but was, in his approach to writing, working a similar lode) establishes certain characteristic qualities of his work, which will foliate but never change.

He writes, first, poetry; for certainly *In Parenthesis,* though less formally represented as poetry than is *The Anathemata,* is a long complex, broken poem. He writes of eternity and time and of their relationship, and always of individual human beings. Each is related to his myth, but by this his identity is strengthened, not lost. Jones speaks characteristically of the "principle of individuation, expressed in the well-known formula *Hoecceitas est de se haec,* or, Thisness is wot makes this 'ere itself."

He explained that he wrote *In Parenthesis* because he found nothing already written which corresponded to his experience of war; but in the writing, that war—as real in those pages as in any ever written—became, through being itself, something other, older, wider, universal. "I did not intend this as a War Book—it happened to be concerned with war. I should prefer it to be about a good kind of peace—but as Mandeville says, 'Of Paradys ne can I not speken propurly, I was not there. . .' We find ourselves privates in foot regiments. We search how we may see formal goodness in a life singularly inimical, hateful to us." In the same way the voyage in *The Anathemata,* the fragments traveling down the flood, become an exploration of what Thomas Mann called the great dim "crevasses of time."

Jones first brings up from those crevasses things valuable to the poet himself. He quotes Nennius on " 'an inward wound' which was caused by the fear that certain things dear to him 'should like smoke be dissipated.' " Jones' words are heavy with their connotations and he speculates at length on the durability of these. There are certain established literary connotations— ". . . while our civilization remains, the word 'Troy' will equate automatically with 'love and war' . . ."—but how about the richer, more complex ones? "Water is called the 'matter' of the Sacrament of Baptism. Is 'two of hydrogen and one of oxygen' that 'matter'? I suppose so. But what concerns us here, is whether the poet can and does so juxtapose and condition within context the formula H_2O as to evoke 'founts,' 'that innocent creature,' 'the womb of this divine fount,' 'the candidates' or for that matter 'the narrows' and *'the silver sea/ Which* serues it in the office of a wall,/ Or as a moat defensiue to a house. . .' "

The matter of concern, he says, "is the actual existence of a lesion of some sort . . . which appears in part at least to be in some way bound up with the historic phenomena indicated. And we are concerned with the present effect of this phenomena only insofar as these effects impinge upon, raise problems relative to, inconvenience or impoverish, handicap the free use of, modify the possibility of or in any way affect the *materia poetica.*"

The sense of this lesion, this threat of impoverishment, is constant. As in *In Parenthesis* he examines the rubicon which, to his eyes, in 1916 spread itself between the amateurish ranks of the terrified, nostalgic and homogeneous men who shared his trench, and the more sinister, more technical, less personal warfare of which he so early began to discern the shape, so in *The Anathemata* he is haunted by "the lesion of an apparent incompatibility between the world of the 'myths' and the world of the 'formulae.' " As a poet he feared and hated the impoverishment of words. "The arts abhor any loppings off of meaning or emptying out, any lessening of the totality of connotation, any loss of recession and thickness through."

As early as his days in the trenches, Jones moved in a universe of signs, and he saw their significance being lost in a lopping off and emptying out. In the most characteristic sentence in the preface to *The Anathemata* Jones says that "the artist . . . has somehow or other to lift up valid signs, that is his specific task . . ." and in the deeply related fragments of which the book is composed, he does just that.

From the viewpoint of the once-over-lightly reader (who would do well to leave Jones alone in the first place), *The Anathemata* is a far less satisfactory book than *In Parenthesis,* and it is apt to be less satisfactory also for the admirer of Jones' poetry qua poetry. The passion of sharing, the intensity focused on the moment like the sun on a burning-glass, are almost totally lacking here. The sections of poetry not overweighted with reference are briefer and scarcer, and the best of it is concentrated in one section, *The Lady of the Pool.* There are passages in Jones' peculiarly lucent accent—as in *"Breezes/ moderate to light, following zephyrs, light airs and dolphins and mild birds of calm . . ."* or the accurate *"Green arcing darks/ that thud inboard green-white, forecastle and aftercastle/ fretted and veronica'd by marrying falls of foam. . ."*

But there are few examples with the sustained intensity of the long passage from *In Parenthesis* which begins: *". . . you can hear the silence of it:/ you can hear the rat of no-man's land/ rut-out intricacies,/ weasel-out his patient workings/ scrut, scrut, scrut/ harrow out-earthly trowel his cunning paw redeem the time of our uncharity/ to sap his own amphibious paradise. . ."*

More and more Jones is concerned with the sign, the myth as genetrix of poetry; it is as though *The Ana-*

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themata were, instead of a poem, a vast watershed of poetic force. Since Now is only comprehensible in its juxtaposition to Then, he sets himself momentarily to heal the lesion. He does not wish merely to call to mind the crevasses' hidden contents —he has as his purpose anamnesis.

He discusses at length the origin of his book's title, noting that in antiquity "the Greek word anathema (spelt with an epsilon) meant (firstly) something holy, but that in the New Testament it was restricted to the opposite sense . . . this duality exactly filled my requirements. . . So I mean by my title as much as it can be made to mean, or can evoke or suggest, however obliquely. . . things that are the sign of something other, together with those signs that not only have the nature of a sign, but are themselves, under some mode, what they signify. Things set up, lifted up, or whatever manner made over to the gods."

The relevance of Jones' signs to a temporal reality, wildly altered in the few years which have passed since his last book, is extraordinary. As far back as 1937 he wrote, "we feel a rubicon has been passed between striking with a hand weapon as men used to do and loosing poison from the sky as we do ourselves." In *The Anathemata* the rubicon is the crack in continuity, the impoverishment of the language of myth, the sense of meaninglessness which the sense of isolation produces. The Latin, the Welsh, the Cockney, the odd bits of information, the ancient faces that peer from the foliage of language, all are put to the service of the sense of continuity.

We are still part of the "day by day in the Wasteland, the sudden violences and the long stillnesses, the sharp contours and unformed voids of that mysterious existence . . ." and what establishes *The Anathemata* and with it, Jones, as relevant and powerful is the sense of a continuity bolstered neither by sentimentality nor credulity, a continuity in intelligence and wonder, which places the rubicon and the lesion in their just proportion, though it cannot wholly bridge the one nor heal the other. At least each is seen, defined, taken into the body of a poetry which concerns itself with their significance and what, poetically, may be done about it.

The Future of Natural Law Theory

Natural Law and Modern Society. By John Cogley, et al. World. $4.

by W. E. Arnold

REPORTS of the death of the natural law have evidently been greatly exaggerated. By now the news of its survival or revival has leaked out of the law schools and political science seminars, to arouse curiosity, if not passion, among the generally educated. The book at hand is one of the best products to date of this new interest. Clear, more than usually readable and full of insights, it serves as a good vade mecum for current discussions, even though its case is pretty solidly "pro" natural law. But if the devil is not given his due, there is still enough in the book to helpfully disturb the reader looking for a straight way out of moral confusion.

The papers which make up *Natural Law and Modern Society* were originally contributions to the Fund for the Republic's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara. Their concern is thus broadly legal, social and political rather than personal or moral in a philosophical sense. On this level Robert M. Hutchins, for instance, shows the relevance of natural law doctrine to the search for a "normative jurisprudence." And, in an interesting essay, he demonstrates possible mutual contributions of natural law and the social sciences, so far as the latter are competent to investigate "value systems."

It is indeed in the realm of public law that natural law doctrine seems to be most helpful. It has the advantage over almost any alternative views of being universal, objective and coherent, at least in theory. Also, according to its proponents, its principles are few and adaptable enough to meet changing social and moral conditions. There is, however, an obvious tension between natural law theory and the conditions of contemporary society, which this book only begins to suggest.

The difficulties of applying the doctrine of the natural law to the present world are apparent in the very disharmony between the two sorts of approaches taken by the authors of these papers. The view maintained by Father Murray and Scott Buchanan in their interesting essays stresses the classical tradition of the natural law and hence its perennial, a priori and essentially aristocratic nature. The view adopted by Mr. Selznick and by Harvey Wheeler in their contributions sees natural law as built up empirically so to speak, and as having an "experimental basis." Under this view the natural law is essentially democratic and changes along with the changing "value systems" of society.

There are obvious flaws in these approaches taken separately, let alone taken as "complementing" one another. One is led to think that there is something wrong with the whole scheme which inspires them. At the very least a doctrine which can be used to justify both moral accommodation and perfect constancy at the same time must have the defects of its virtues.

If this is the case, what can be the trouble? Rabbi Robert Gordis, in his perceptive paper on religion and natural law, begins to get at the root of the matter. He points out that there are always certain religious or anti-religious and metaphysical or anti-metaphysical beliefs that underlie any moral view of the world, even moral confusion. At the heart of the natural law theory lies, if not a belief in God, at least a belief in an unchanging human nature and in the ability of human reason to discern an objective moral order. It is no wonder, then, that there are such difficulties in "accommodating" natural law to modern society, since so many of the latter's underlying assumptions have been built up in opposition to those of the natural law, as traditionally interpreted.

No one elects to remain in a state of permanent moral confusion. But it does seem as though one of the

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fundamental beliefs of the so-called moral confusion of the present is that this very state is in some sense valuable. Consequently, the relevant moral doctrine of the future will start with that, will in some sense accept the present on its own terms, gradually transforming society from within into a productive milieu. But it will have to be critical as well as "relevant." Obviously, too, the one which succeeds must be more than an academic relevance: it must have at least as much Spirit as Letter.

A Romantic Image of Virginia

The Garden. By Yves Berger. Translated from the French by Robert Baldick. Braziller. $4.

by Martin Tucker

THE "GARDEN" in Berger's novel is the Virginia of 1842 but a Virginia only possible in the romantic imagination. Technological civilization, or progress, or merely those aspects of daily living that demand a recognition of Time's hegemony, is contrasted with the "garden"— a place where dreams have created a universe and time is an unwelcome guest. The conflict between oppressive modern living—one's roots in mechanical activity—and the romantic apotheosis of the faraway, "innocent" land where civilization has no need of improving the primitive is resolved in favor of the dream. Berger's novel is all too modern, however: the dream is not smashed, but the hero is crippled in his conflict between the disease of dreaming and the compulsions of reality.

Berger's novel—it is his first published full-length fiction, and he spent five years on it—opens with the death of the father, that man who found in the Virginia of 1842 an ideal by which to live, although his life was lived a hundred years later and three thousand miles away. The father's Virginia is Faulkner's South, where men rode on horseback in glory through the Golden forest. In essence the novel is a contest between the father and his daughter Virginie, who betrays the dream. It is significant that the moment when the father realizes his daughter has grown into a woman, and is therefore his rival, is stated twice in the same words, at the beginning and end of the novel.

Virginie tries to "save" her brother by taking him to Montpellier and enrolling him in the *lycée* there. In her struggle to win him from their father, she introduces him to her body in an incestuous affair. She also encourages him to write a novel about Virginia, which she intends and expects will be the "real" Virginia, with Negro slaves, brutality and bloodshed. She urges her brother to write it in short sentences that will give the staccato insistence of time. When her brother shows her his work, she is angry. His novel contains no slaves; it is a work of long, rolling sentences, even though he tells her: "Perhaps if you had not forced me to take short sentences into consideration and to construct a few, here and there in my book, every now and then, perhaps I would not have gotten so far, a few hundred pages already and already I can see the end coming, perhaps once I had allowed myself to follow a long sentence, a solitary sentence, I would be inside it while it moves forward, overflows the paper, the table, no more day, no more night, no more wakefulness and no more sleep. . . ."

Ironically, the son returns home too late. His father has gone to the mountains to recruit workers for the annual wine harvest and is killed when his horse bolts into an automobile. The symbolism is apparent—the dreamer on horseback is killed by the artifacts of progress. Even in his death the father is mocked. He is brought home to his son by Spaniards and Italians who have journeyed to the region for the seasonal work; the father had tried to prevent their recruitment, for he knew that they, as immigrants desirous of achieving a different life, would change the environment he had so carefully wrought.

Berger, a 27-year-old French schoolteacher and literary critic, has written a short, haunting novel. The immersion in the timelessness of a dreamlike existence is beautifully conveyed, and the love scenes between brother and sister have the quality of an idyll. As for a cohesive meaning, that is another story. The son has retained the dream, but he has lost the power of that vision. He has returned home to a ruined garden, bereft of its creator. Who then was closer to the value of life, the father or the daughter? They have destroyed each other and their goal, the person they loved most, in their struggle. But there is no commitment

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to either side, and the novel remains a fantasy, a private vision whose depths are seen only through dark mists.

Berger's novel reminded me of another excellent novel in which a personal fantastic vision is the means by which the hero survives. In Walker Percy's *The Moviegoer* the hero used the unreal screen to get by the meaninglessness of real life. Percy's hero found his way to a compromise with reality through his love affair with his cousin. Berger's hero however does not move forward or back, nor stand rooted to his dream. He is merely obsessed by it. It is this lack of commitment, a totality of statement, that seems to me the only flaw in a brilliant novel.

Transforming Vision into Performance

John Keats: The Making of a Poet. By Aileen Ward. Viking. $7.50.

by Richard McLaughlin

GEORGE SANTAYANA, speaking of Keats in a letter to J. Middleton Murray in 1930, was quick to thank Murray for opening his eyes with his brilliant *Studies in Keats*. "They gave me much information which I never had, and a new insight into Keats's mind. In the days when I read English poetry he was always my personal favorite. I found him warmer than Shelley, and liked a certain frank sensuality or youthfulness in him, a certain plebeian innocence of great human interests: I called him the Cockney Genius, and thought him luscious rather than intellectual."

Santayana was not being patronizing. On the contrary, he was seeing Keats as many have before him, as Victorians like Palgrave saw him—the "marvelous boy" who died at twenty-five. Or perhaps as some of us still think of him: the best of England's romantic poets, who died very young, before he had learnt to discipline his exuberant talent; who, though some of his work is marred by a youthful floridity, is not unlike Shakespeare in his gift for the right word, for the exact visualizing phrase.

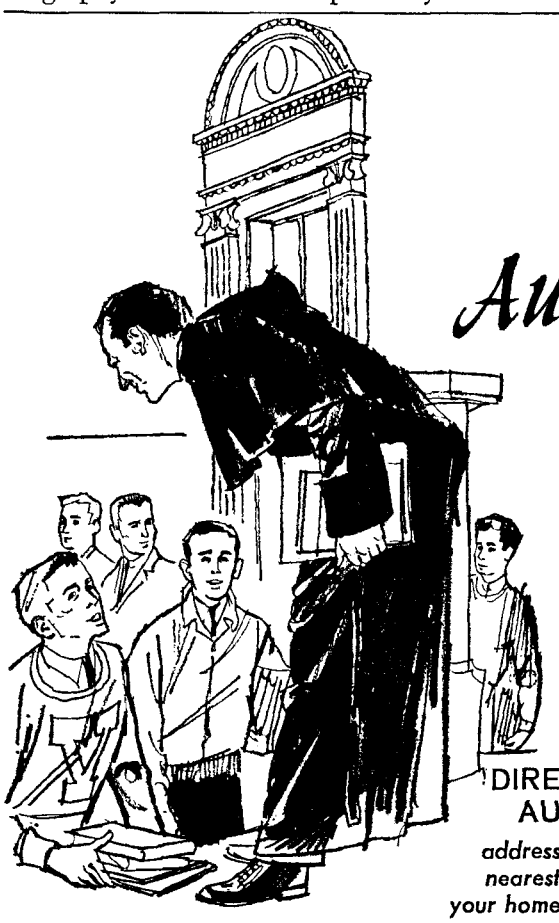
Plainly Santayana had never read Keats's letters. For if he had, he would have known that the insight into human life "which Keats communicated so immediately and directly in his letters" was the basis for his re-assessment by modern scholars.

It has always been easy for anyone who has ever read any of his great poems—*On First Looking Into Chapman's Homer, The Eve of St. Agnes, La Belle Dame Sans Merci, Ode on a Grecian Urn*—to see in his pages just what critic Lord David Cecil continues to see in them: "spring and autumn, the sensuous grace of classic myth, the moon-lit forests of fairy-tale," as they rise before the mind's eye in all the breathless loveliness of their detailed reality. Why, then, wouldn't Santayana see in Keats's work his lusciousness and not his intellectual objectivity, his melancholy and not his "knowledge of light and shade"?

Miss Ward's engagingly written biography is concerned primarily with what she calls "the inner drama" of Keats's creative life as it may be observed through a reading of his poems and letters. Convinced that he was a man remarkably endowed with the stamina necessary to translate "the vision of poetry into performance," she is also of the same opinion as J. Middleton Murray—that what Keats achieved in four years, with so many obstacles in his way, is nothing short of a miracle. It is more than a miracle, she adds, his poetic growth is a fact: he came into his own in the three years prior to his death. They represent "the most concentrated effort in our literature."

True, painstakingly as she traces "the making of a poet" step by step through his imagery and the profounder statements in his letters, one wonders sometimes if the author hasn't been carried away by her scholarly sleuthing. Her understanding of Keats's character as a poet is somewhat cramped on occasion by her tendency to indulge in psychological guesswork.

For example, though there is very little factual evidence available



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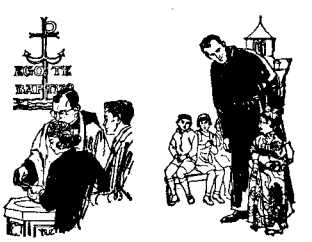

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about Keats's boyhood—in later years he almost never mentioned this early period of his life—Miss Ward seems very much determined to build up quite a strong Freudian case to prove that poetry comes from what Cyril Connolly claims it does—the ferment of an unhappy childhood working through a noble imagination. While some of Keats's biographers hold that his reserve was due to a certain diffidence about his humble origin, his being born over a livery stable, Miss Ward will have none of this. Her Freudian intuition tells her his silence was probably the result of "an insoluble conflict of emotions about his mother."

Previous writers have regarded his father's death and his mother's remarriage as mere "unpropitious occurrences" in the course of Keats's adolescence, but biographer Ward has darker, more clinical explanations. She draws not only a startling parallel between Keats's situation and that of Hamlet with his faithless mother and his father's usurper, but suggests that these childhood losses shaped his nature "just as surely as Byron's humiliating deformity and Calvinistic upbringing and Shelley's persecution at school formed their sensibility." Indeed, the division in Keats's nature and his consequent "search for an idealized father in one older man after another throughout his life" are also, according to Miss Ward, traceable to these same sources—his father's death and his mother's defection.

On the other hand, one heartily agrees with her when she states that every new evaluation of Keats in recent scholarship helps disprove Byron's quip that he was "snuffed out by an article." Unfortunately, Shelley's fervent tribute to Keats in *Adonais* did not serve him any better. While Keats was thus rescued from *Blackwood's* caricature of "the amiable Mister Keats" of Leigh Hunt's "Cockney School of Poetry," Shelley succeeded only in doing worse harm: he left an erroneous impression with the public of a weakling who could not face adverse criticism. Nor did Keats's contemporaries, Hazlitt or Hunt, help dispel the myth, says Miss Ward.

One of them referred to him again

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and again as "a bud bit by an envious worm," and the other harped on "his morbidity during his illness," causing much distress to those who were close to him, his brother George, Charles Brown and Fanny Brawne.

T. S. Eliot is said to have paid tribute to the Shakespearean quality of Keats's greatness, particularly as it is revealed in his letters. And anyone who has followed them, as closely as has Miss Ward, can easily appreciate such a critical assessment. Moreover, the comparison is not at all absurd. Keats in 1817 had discovered Shakespeare to be "the poet of all poets for him," thus replacing his exemplars, Spenser and Hunt with the great bard. It is not surprising, therefore, that his letters often echo with Shakespearean lines, or, as Miss Ward puts it, show the influence, along with his poetry, of the "dense thinginess" of Shakespeare's style.

Obviously, as Miss Ward says, the greatness of Keats can not be measured by his poetry alone. The combination of his poems and letters should help, however, to alter the popular impression that has been most current since the Victorians first took him up. Even the wildly enthusiastic Pre-Raphaelites did not help matters. Although they ranked him in the immortal company of Shakespeare, Homer, Dante and Chaucer, their effusions blinded them to his real stature as a major artist. They, like so many others, too often considered him solely in terms of his tragi-comic love affair, his tuberculosis, his melancholy flight to Italy and, finally, his lonely grave in Rome.

All of which is too embarrassingly close, as recent criticism and Miss Ward's provocative book point out, to a sentimental schoolgirl's idea of a romantic poet.

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